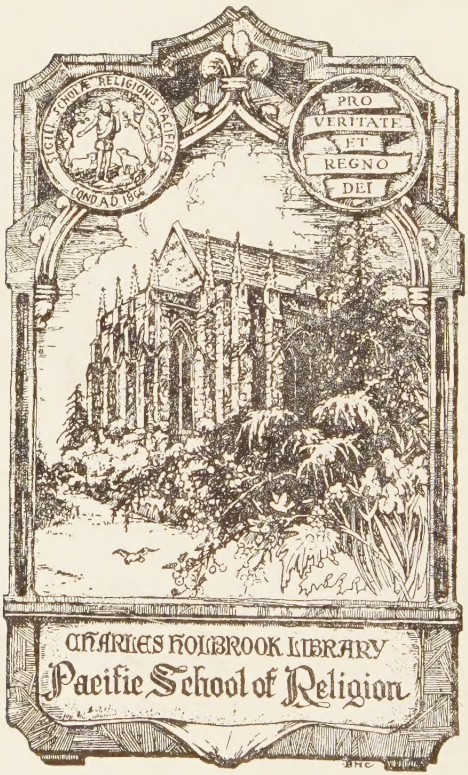
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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN

JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

No. 6

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AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ORGANIZED AT NEW YORK, JUNE 7, 1892.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

President:
HON. OSCAR S. STRAUS.

Vice-Presidents:
HON. SIMON W. ROSENDALE,
MENDES COHEN, ESQ.,
PROF. HERBERT B. ADAMS.

Corresponding Secretary:
DR. CYRUS ADLER.

Recording Secretary:
DR. HERBERT FRIEDENWALD.

Treasurer:
PROF. RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

Additional Members of the Executive Council:
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PROF. MORRIS JASTROW, JR.,
HON. MAYER SULZBERGER,
N. TAYLOR PHILLIPS,
HON. SIMON WOLF,
DR. J. H. HOLLANDER,
MAX J. KOHLER, ESQ.,
JOHN SAMUEL, ESQ.,
REV. DR. DAVID PHILLIPSON.

All communications should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, DR. CYRUS ADLER, 943 K St. N. W., Washington City, U. S. A.

OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of our country. It is known that Jews of Spain and Portugal participated in some degree in the voyages which led to the discovery of America, and that there were Jews from Holland, Great Britain, Jamaica and other countries among the earliest settlers of several of the colonies. There were also a number of Jews in the Continental army, and others contributed liberally to defray the expenses of the Revolutionary war. Since the foundation of our government a number of Jews have held important public positions. The genealogy of these men and the record of their achievements will, when gathered together, be of value and interest to the historian and perchance contribute materially to the history of our country.

The objects for which this Society was organized are not sectarian but American. The co-operation of students of history and of all persons who have an interest in the work of this Society is cordially invited.

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The National Council of Jewish Women held its first convention in the city of New York, November 15th to 19th, 1896. Various organizations throughout the country were invited to send delegates, who were requested to deliver short addresses before the convention. The Society appointed its President, the Honorable Oscar S. Straus, as its representative. He presented the objects of the Society in the following words:

I represent the American Jewish Historical Society, and I bring from them to you, ladies of the National Council, most cordial and hearty greetings. We are engaged in the gathering of facts of history, and you may rest assured that we are watching you with an historical eye. We expect you to work such achievements as to make an impress not only upon the Jewish women of America, but to uplift the community in which we live so as make an epoch of our day and our generation. We hope and expect this not only for your sakes, but for the sake of historians, whom you are to furnish with material, for we promise you that we will reserve the brightest page in our annual records for the noble achievements of the National Council of Jewish Women. I observe with considerable satisfaction that history is one of the subjects to which you give your attention, and to which you are endeavoring to give a new impetus. If, indeed, philosophy is to history as teaching by example, where is the history that contains a more complete and eloquent book of philosophy than the history of the Jews, which extends as an unbroken chain through four thousand years? The American Jewish Historical Society is not a sectarian institution. It is American. And as American Jews we feel it our duty

to cast every light it is possible to bring to bear upon early colonization and development of civilization upon this great continent of ours. Dr. Kayserling, the eminent historian, has very truly said that the last chapter of the Jews on the Iberian Peninsula is their first chapter on the continent of America. It is generally believed—and now I want to take nothing away from the reputation of any woman living or dead—that Isabella sold her pearl necklace and her valuable jewels, for the purpose of fitting out the caravels of Columbus. Spanish historians themselves state that it was not Isabella; not because she was not generous enough to do this, but she had already pawned or sold her jewels to defray the expenses of the wars then devastating the Iberian Peninsula, and so it was not in her power to do it. But the money was furnished by no other person than the Treasurer General of Aragon, who was born of a Jewish mother and a Jewish father. Louis Santangel and Gabriel Sanchez, the Treasurer General of Aragon and the Councillor and Comptroller of Aragon, were the men who were really the patrons of Columbus. This is not a theory, it is the actual fact, corroborated as facts of history are corroborated. And the reports made by Columbus and sent home were addressed to the first two American Jews, as I think I must call them. Then it will be asked, were there any Jews with Columbus when he discovered this continent? As a matter of fact, the entire register of the men who sailed with Columbus has been lost, but a great many of the names of the men who sailed with him have been recovered, and among them are undoubtedly five Jews. The interpreter whom Columbus took with him, Luis de Torres, was a Jew. A nephew of the Treasurer General of Aragon, Sanchez, was delegated to go with Columbus by the special request of Queen Isabella. The surgeon of the ship was a Jew, and there were two other Jews upon the ships. I state this merely to bring forcibly to your minds that our work comes immediately within your sphere, and I wish and I hope, as only one or two members of your

great Council are members of our Society, that you will come rushing in to us. We will receive you with open arms. I want to make one more statement in reference to American History which I know will be of interest. The Jews driven out of Spain and Portugal were among the earlier settlers in South America, in Barbadoes, Brazil, Jamaica, and in other countries of that continent. The very first commerce developed by the Pilgrims and Puritans who came to settle the bleak New England shores was with the very South American countries wherein were settled the refugees from the Iberian Peninsula, and it is now pretty evident that but for the mercantile skill of those settlers, enabling the New England colonists to trade off the product of their soil, the settlement of New England and its prosperity would have been retarded surely half a century. And we feel that we are doing a great service to the historians and historical writers of this country in bringing together these important facts bearing upon the development of this continent, and we feel that our studies and your inspiration must to a great extent go hand in hand. At any rate, we are delighted to take your hands, whenever you will proffer them to us.

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The fifth annual meeting of the Society was held at Baltimore, on Wednesday, January 27, and Thursday, January 28, 1897, about forty persons being in attendance. In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, Mr. Mendes Cohen presided at the several meetings.

In presenting his annual report the Secretary made mention of the success of the previous meeting held at Philadelphia, by reason of the number and quality of papers presented, and the large attendance at the several sessions.

He also said that during the year just past the Society had made satisfactory advancement and that its field of work was ever extending; that on account of the special attractiveness of the subject and the wealth of material in existence relative thereto, much of the attention of the more active members had been turned to the history of the settlements of Jews in Mexico, Central and South America and the outlying islands. It was gratifying to report that the membership list showed a slow but steady increase. At the previous annual meeting there were 165 members. In spite of a few resignations the number had grown until at that time it reached 211, consisting of 6 Honorary, 13 Corresponding and 192 ordinary members. During the year the Society lost no members by death. In addition, however, to the deaths announced at the previous meeting, mention should have been made of that of the Hon. George Shea in 1895. An earnest hope was expressed that the members would seriously hold in mind the circular sent to them and make an endeavor to increase the membership of the Society.

On behalf of the Committee on Publication, after consultation with the Executive Council, the request was made that papers presented at the annual meetings of the Society be not published elsewhere until they have first been printed in the Publications of the Society. Attention was called to the new seal designed for the Society by the committee appointed for that purpose (Mr. Barnet Phillips, Rev. Dr. G. Gottheil, Mr. Mendes Cohen), and which had its first usage on the cover of Publication No. 5, then just issued.

It occasioned no slight gratification that he (the Secretary) was able to report most satisfactory results arising out of the system of exchanges entered into with learned societies in this and other countries.

The Treasurer presented the following report:

Richard Gottheil, Treasurer, in account with the American Jewish Historical Society, Nov. 5th, 1895 to Dec. 31st, 1896.

Dr.		Cr.	
To Balance Nov. 5, 1895	$1,816.33	Printing and distributing No. 5	$523.02
To subscriptions from Members	896.56	Clerical services	124.00
To sale of Publications	76.43	Seal	36.85
To Interest, Knickerbocker Trust Co	44.86	Stationery	81.00
		Insurance, Freight, Postage, etc	144.82
		By Investment	797.50
		By Balance at Bankers	1,112.99
		By Balance in hands of Treasurer	14.00
	$2,834.18		$2,834.18

Rev. Dr. M. H. Harris and Mr. Lee Kohns of New York were appointed a committee to audit the Treasurer's report.

On the evening of January 27, in the absence of the President, and at his request, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Corresponding Secretary, delivered an address, in which he reviewed the contributions made in the five Publications of the Society, to the history of the Jews on this continent.

The following papers were presented at the meetings:

1. *Civil Status of Jews in Colonial New York*, by Max J. Kohler, Esq., New York City.

2. *The Beginning of the Chicago Sinai Congregation*, by Rev. Dr. B. Felsenthal, Chicago (read by Miss Felsenthal).

3. *The Removal of Civil Disabilities from the Jews in Maryland*, by Dr. J. H. Hollander, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

4. *Some Newspaper Advertisements of the 18th Century*, by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Philadelphia.

5. *The Jews of Newport*, by Max J. Kohler, Esq., New York City.

6. *Note on the Portraits of Jews engraved by St. Memin*, and *Note on two Early Graduates of Yale College*, by Dr. Cyrus Adler, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

7. *A Modern Maccabean*, by Rev. Henry Cohen, Galveston, Texas.

8. *Notice of Jacob Mordecai, Founder and Proprietor from 1808 to 1818 of the Warrenton (N. C.) Female Seminary*, by Gratz Mordecai, Esq., Philadelphia.

9. *Influence of the Old Testament on Legislation in the Colony of New Haven*, by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Philadelphia.

10. *Growth of Jewish Population in the United States*, by Mr. David Sulzberger, Philadelphia (read by title).

11. *Annotated Bibliography of American Hebraica*, by E. Deinard, Kearney, N. J. (read by title).

The presiding officer appointed Dr. A. Friedenwald, Rev. Dr. Guttmacher, and Mr. Frederick Nathan, a Committee on Nominations. They reported the following list of officers for the ensuing year, who were unanimously elected:

President, Hon. Oscar S. Straus; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Mr. Mendes Cohen, Prof. Herbert B. Adams; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Cyrus Adler; Recording Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald; Treasurer, Prof. Richard Gottheil; Additional Members of the Executive

Council: Rev. B. Felsenthal, Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, Mr. N. Taylor Phillips, Hon. Simon Wolf, Dr. J. H. Hollander, Mr. Max J. Kohler, Mr. John Samuel, Rev. Dr. David Phillipson.

The presiding officer appointed the following Committee on Publication: Dr. Cyrus Adler, Dr. J. H. Hollander, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald.

A vote of thanks was tendered Mr. Robert Rennert for his courtesy in placing a meeting room at the disposal of the Society.

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ADDRESS OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,

Dr. Cyrus Adler, *Washington, D. C.*

[Abstract.]

Members and Friends of the American Jewish Historical Society:

When a few weeks ago the President of the Society decided to make a journey to Europe for the enjoyment of a much needed rest, he invited the Vice-Presidents in turn to assume the charge of this meeting and deliver an address in his stead.

None of these gentlemen found himself able to comply, and at the urgent request of the President, though fully conscious of my own inability, and sadly hampered by lack of time and the weight of pressing official duties, I agreed to present at least so much of an address as would maintain the traditions of the Society.

Before passing to the subject-matter, I desire to express a hope, in which I know you will all join me most heartily, that Mr. Straus will soon be among us again with renewed vigor. No one knows better than myself how zealous and unremitting have been his labors in behalf of the Society. Much of the success which this Society has attained must undoubtedly be ascribed to his wisdom, his stimulus and his energy.

The present meeting is the fifth which our Society has held; and while five years is not a long period of time to contemplate, it seemed to me that it might not be out of place to review the contributions which have been made by this Society, since its formation, to the study of American Jewish history.

The Society was organized at a meeting held at the Jewish Theological Seminary in the city of New York, on June 7, 1892, forty members being present.

In looking over the stenographic report of that meeting I find some statements which deserve to be recalled. We were entering, as Mr. Straus said, upon a new field. How rich this field was probably no one had an adequate conception.

Dr. Gross and Professor Jastrow both laid stress on the importance of collecting and publishing original documents which would serve as material for the historian, rather than making the attempt to write history, in view of the paucity of the material at hand.

This suggestion has the same force as when it was first made. I cannot recommend too strongly the advisability of the collection of original material.

Since the organization, four meetings have been held, the present being the fifth. The papers presented at these meetings have been printed in five volumes of *Publications*, which, together with the published report of the meeting for organization, constitute the contributions of the Society to American Jewish history.

You will no doubt be surprised to learn that the *Publications* thus far issued number 1055 pages octavo. They are now printed in an edition of one thousand copies, and besides being sent to all the members, and sold to some slight extent, are sent to over one hundred of the leading libraries and scientific institutions throughout the world.

[Here followed a classified review of the papers which had appeared, under the following headings: General Colonial; Revolutionary; New York; Pennsylvania; Maryland; Georgia; Virginia; Kentucky; Texas; Illinois; Canada; South America and the West Indies.]

In preparing this review I have been compelled to hurry along over many interesting matters. Nevertheless you will, I think, bear me out in the assertion that the work accomplished furnishes an ample justification for the existence of our Society.

South America and the West Indies offer a rich mine, yet I should like before closing to emphasize the importance of giving the most of our attention to the territory which is now the United States. I am convinced that we have up till now but scratched the surface and shall not rest content until the rich treasures beneath are exposed to view.

A MEMORIAL SENT BY GERMAN JEWS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

By Dr. M. Kayserling, *Buda-Pest.*

When did the earliest immigration of German Jews into the free States of North America begin? This question, so important for history, has to my knowledge not been investigated up to the present time. It must at all events have begun earlier than is generally assumed. Hardly was the constitution of Pennsylvania of September 28, 1776, adopted, and the principle expressed in it: "nor can any man who acknowledges the being of a God be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen, on account of his religious sentiments, or peculiar mode of religious worship," made known in Germany, than the thought occurred to certain Jews who were tired of the oppression which burdened them, to establish a new home in the free American States. A German Jew, whose name and domicile are not mentioned, forwarded, probably in behalf of a considerable number of coreligionists, a letter to the President of the Continental Congress at the beginning of the eighties of the last century, from which it is clearly seen that a number of German Jews had the intention of settling in America. "Many of us"— so we read at the close of this very noteworthy letter— "have learned with much satisfaction, from the peace made by the mighty American States with England, that wide tracts of land had been ceded to them which are as yet almost uninhabited. More than a century may elapse before the inhabitants of the thirteen united provinces will so increase as to populate and cultivate even the land which is already possessed by these provinces, in such a degree as a

duchy in our country is populated and cultivated. Your religion cannot prohibit you from leaving these deserts to us for cultivation; besides, you have been for a long time tolerating Jews near you. Whether policy might forbid you that, I do not know. At all events you have the legislative power in your hands, and we ask no more than to be permitted to become subjects of these thirteen provinces, and would gladly contribute two-fold taxes for their benefit if we can only obtain permission to establish colonies at our own cost and to engage in agriculture, commerce, arts and sciences. Do we not believe in the same God as the Quakers do? Can our admission become more dangerous and precarious than that of the Quakers? Supposing that two thousand families of us would settle in a desert of America and convert it into a fertile land, will the old inhabitants of the provinces suffer by it? Let the conditions be stated to us, gracious President, under which you will admit us; we will then consider whether we can accept and keep them."

The condition of the Jews in Germany was then most wretched. The author of this letter presented to the President a very gloomy picture of these melancholy conditions. "You would be astonished, most mighty President," reads a passage of the letter, "at the perseverance of a German Jew, if you could witness it. The great, nay, perhaps the greatest part of them, spend almost their whole life on the highway in the pursuit of retail business, and the trader consumes for his own person nothing but a herring and a penny loaf; the nearest brook or well has to supply his drink. All that he earns besides he conscientiously lays aside in order to bring it home on Friday to supply food and clothing for wife and children. During these one and a half days when he enjoys somewhat better food and rests in the bosom of his family he forgets the wretched life which he is compelled to take up again on the next Sunday. And would you believe it, this wretch, who has to strain all his

wits to convert a capital of fifty florins nearly as many times during the year, if he wants to live by it with his family, is nevertheless not infrequently envied by many Jews? . . . Granted that a Jew has at last become possessor of a capital that would suffice to support a family, still he will not be able to marry the woman he loves. Most of the time and in most of the German provinces he is obliged to acquire protection money for a sum which reduces his property to a half or one-third. But love overcomes this difficulty too. He strains his energies anew, again completes his capital and then seeks for permission to marry. If he obtains it, the experience just described is repeated, for he has to pay dearly for this permission, and the expenses of a wedding are not less among Jews than among Christians." The petitioner in the course of his letter touches on many other sore points in the condition of the German Jews of that time. He by no means ignores the efforts of Dohm and other philanthropists, still he does not indulge in the hope that his coreligionists in Germany will soon enjoy a more tolerable existence. "Here and there something has been done for us, but this may be likened to the taking off of two pounds from one who carries a burden of two tons."

Involuntarily the question suggests itself, who was the German Jew who a hundred and twelve years ago applied to the President of the United States of North America with this petition?

Of this letter, which first appeared in the *Deutsches Museum* of June, 1783, a separate edition was published in 1787 under the title, *Schreiben eines deutschen Juden an den nordamerikanischen Präsidenten,** and in order to invest it with greater importance and to give it a wider circulation it was ascribed to Moses Mendelssohn, who was already dead—nay, the editor even avails himself of a trick to preface it by a letter of Mendelssohn to one Isaac Tr——n. The letter reads (p. 3):

* Frankfort and Leipsic, 1787 (23 pages).

"Most esteemed friend,

You have probably read Mr. D——'s* excellent pamphlet on the political amelioration of the Jews; if not, then do read this brief essay in form of a letter by a German Jew to the President of the Congress of the United States of America. The author of this small pamphlet condensed all that you can find in the publication of D—— mentioned above. M. M."

One needs only read this letter to be convinced that he has not to do with a production of Moses Mendelssohn. Moses Mendelssohn did not write a single line for the *Deutsches Museum*. If he were the author of the letter, which must have at that time caused a great sensation, it would certainly not have remained a secret. Who can give more information concerning the petition and its result?

* Dohm.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE ATTEMPTED DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS FROM SURINAM IN 1675.

Edited by Dr. J. H. Hollander, *Johns Hopkins University.*

The documents here for the first time printed in full, from the manuscript records of the Public Record Office in London,* are presented in abstract in the "Calendar of State Papers; Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1675–1676," edited by W. Noel Sainsbury (London, 1893). They describe an episode not only of interest in the history of the Jews of Surinam, but of considerable significance in any study of the civil and political status of Jews subject to English rule, whose condition had been improved neither by naturalization nor denization. The fact is made strikingly evident that the same government which denied the privileges of a British subject to a Jew, even though born or long resident on English soil, was quick enough to merge all distinctions and to insist that Jews resident in Surinam were British subjects, when manifest advantage lay in so doing.

The documents tell their own story, and but a word of introduction is necessary.† In February, 1667, Surinam, then an English colony under the government of Lieut.-General William Byam, surrendered to a Dutch fleet in command of Abraham Crynssens. The articles of surrender

*A transcript of the documents was made by the writer while in London in August, 1895. The present imprint is from copies secured through the courtesy of Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, and checked by the earlier transcript.

†For a convenient summary see Mr. Sainsbury's prefaces to the three volumes of the "Calendar of State Papers: America and West Indies." The facts relating to the residence of the Jews in Surinam are partially summarized in Felsenthal and Gottheil's "Chronological Sketch of the History of the Jews in Surinam," in *Pub. Amer. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 4, pp. 1–8.

provided that English subjects desiring to leave the colony should be at liberty to do so. Six months later Surinam was retaken by an English fleet under command of Lieut.-Col. Henry Willoughby and Sir John Harmon, and became again an English colony. By the treaty of Breda (July 21, 1667), Surinam was, however, restored to the Dutch, and provision again made for the free departure of English subjects. A number of colonists left Surinam, not, however, without some opposition on the part of the Dutch authorities. In the treaty of Westminster (February 9, 1674), the freedom of English subjects to sell their estates and depart from Surinam was again specifically affirmed. Finally, early in 1675, the States General issued orders to this effect to Captain Vorsterre, then governor of Surinam. Upon the report of the commissioners for Trade and Plantations, King Charles sent two commissioners (Edward Cranfield and Marcus Brandt), with three ships to bring off English subjects desiring to leave the colony.

The narrative at this point is continued by the documents proper.

I.

[Colonial Papers (MSS.), Vol. 34, No. 113.]

Calendar, Art. 622.

Surinam, 11th July 75

May it Please yor Honr

Vpon ye 6th Aprill, 75 we sayled out of ye Downes wth his Mats Shipp Hunter in company wth yc Hercules and America. On ye 8th we anchored in Tarr-bay about 4 in ye afternoone, by reason ye wind tooke us Short. On ye 12th we sayled from thence makeing yc best of our way towards Madera. On ye 21th mett wth a fleet of Shipps bound for ye Channell by whome we gaue aduice. On ye 27th we gott in Madera road. ye Gour there denying us produck unlesse we would enter ye Kings Shipp Hunter as a Merchr man wch we refused, whereupon we weighed and came to say* ye same day makeing

* Perhaps *sayl.* The margin torn off.

y^e^ best of our way to Surinam. On y^e^ 14^th^ May being in y^e^ lattitude of 13^d^ we mett w^th^ 2 Ships bound for Barbadoes by whome we wrote to yo^r^ Hon^r^. On y^e^ 29^th^ we had a good land fall makeing about 2 in y^e^ afternoone Cape Orange, and at 6 in y^e^ Euening y^e^ Cunstable, both being about 80 leagues to y^e^ Eastward of y^e^ riuer of Surinam, y^e^ Coast prooueing Shoaley was forced to anchor in y^e^ nights. Soe y^t^ we arriued not to y^e^ mouth of y^e^ riuer till y^e^ 2^d^ June foll. w^ch^ fell out to be y^e^ lowest of y^e^ Niep tides, whereupon a Consultacon being had it was concluded not to aduenture ouer y^e^ barr while y^e^ rise of y^e^ Spring tides, w^ch^ caused us to dispatch a boat to y^e^ Gou^r^ to giue notice of our arriuall, who by y^e^ returne of y^e^ boat sent off a pylott w^th^ inuitacons to come ashoare whereupon we went ashoare carrying w^th^ us all letters and Coppyes, w^ch^ we deliuered y^e^ 4^th^ and tooke his receipt: who recd us w^th^ extraordnary Ciuility att Paramaribo, where y^e^ Aduice boat rode, who arriued here on y^e^ 28^th^ march last past but y^e^ Cap^t^ dyed before she was cleare of y^e^ Channell; after we had deliuered all y^e^ lres to y^e^ Gou^r^ we acquainted him w^th^ y^e^ tenour of our Com^n^ demaunding of him to agree on a time and place for y^e^ Adjusting all matters necessary for y^e^ transportacon Of his Ma^ts^ Subjects and estates. further we required him to publich w^th^in 3 dayes y^e^ States Order, w^ch^ was done both in English and Dutch y^e^ next day, and sett up in Paramaribo & Tororica. Likewise he agreed to our demaunds of a time and place of meeting for adjusting all matters, w^ch^ was concluded of and publicacon made in y^e^ Seuerall Diuisions to giue notice y^t^ upon y^e^ $\frac{30}{10}$ $\frac{\text{June}}{\text{July}}$ y^e^ Gou^r^ w^th^ two of his Councill would sitt w^th^ his Ma^ts^ Com^rs^ att Paramaribo, for y^e^ determining all matters as is directed by y^e^ States Gen^ll^ Orders. In y^e^ meane while we endeauoured to informe our Selues from y^e^ most intelligent persons of y^e^ State & of y^e^ perticuler cases of all things y^t^ might reasonably fall under debate. As publicacon was formerly made we satt on y^e^ day and place abouesaid for y^e^ ending of all differences w^th^ himselfe and two of his Councill. Soe y^t^ in 4 dayes after all matters were brought to a finall determinacon

according to Justice and good equity. Also at y^e^ same time y^e^ Gou^r^ gaue satisfaccon for y^e^ Cattle and prouision taken away in time of Warr, & any thing els y^t^ did appeare to be any wayes due; likewise execucon to issue in 3 dayes against y^e^ Stayers. If paym^t^ should not be made to his Ma^ts^ Subjects according to Sentence; they are all in generall resolued to goe directly to Jamaica to w^ch^ place we were obliged to promise them Transportacon els three families would not haue remoued. Its such a Supply y^t^ may reasonably conduce more to y^e^ aduantage of y^e^ place then 4 times y^e^ number from Europe; both in respect of their Seasoned Constitutions, and great experience in planting, most of them haueing been att y^e^ trade this Twenty yeares. All things being accomodated in an Amicable manner, and complyance giuen to all demaunds, except y^e^ detencon of two or three Orphans, they being left perticulerly to y^e^ care of y^e^ Gou^r^ (and his Councill) wh[o] will giue reasons under his hand upon y^e^ refusall; now since all things are adjusted w^th^ y^e^ Gou^r^ and finally determined betweene party and party, we thought it a principall part of our duty to render you a perticuler acc^o^ by y^e^ Hunter, haueing noe further Seruice for her here. We haue also giuen notice to his Ma^ts^ Subjects y^t^ at y^e^ next full moone we intend to Sayle from this place directly for Jamaica, from whence you shall haue a further account of Our proceedings w^ch^ is all at present from

Yo^r^ Hon^rs^ most humble Obed^t^ Seru^ts^
EDW. CRANFIELD
MARCUS BRANDT

[Addressed] For y^e^ R^t^ Hon^ble^ S^r^ Joseph
Williamson Prin^ll^ Sec^ry^ of
State to his Ma^ty^ of
Great Brittaine

[Endorsed] *Surinam*
11 July 1675. R. Sept. 19.
his Ma^tys^ Comiss^rs^.

II.

[Colonial Papers (MSS.), Vol. 34, No. 115.]

Surinam, 11th July, 75 Calendar, Art. 624.

May it please yo^r Hon^r:

Since we closed our letters we haue occasion to add this concerning y^e Jews who demaundéd transportacon w^th his Ma^ts Subjects, whereupon y^e Gou^r told them his order from y^e State[s] was to suffer only y^e English to goe. We conceiueing it to be an incroachm^t upon y^e Articles of Surrender interposed, upon w^ch he replyed y^e 5. Article of y^e last treaty menc̃oned only y^e English in y^e Dutch translac̃on, but y^e Originall w^ch was in latine was Subjects w^ch comprehends all, els y^e Scotch & Irish might be detayned w^ch made his Argum^t fallacious whereupon he desired time to consider on it, after w^ch he complyed therein and made publicac̃on at y^e Gen^ll Court y^t it should be lawfull for y^e Hebrew Nation to depart. But since here is a Shipp arriued from Holland (as he pretends) brought Orders for Stopping them. But I find he hath made it occasion of pretence. Understanding y^e Mayor of y^e Garrison had been all ouer y^e Country to take a list of y^e Dutch Inhabitants, I tooke an occasion to insinuate my Selfe more perticulerly to pump him out of y^e Number w^ch he told me was but 130, besides y^e Garrison w^ch containes about 140 more. And finding y^e Jews to be as considerable both for Number and fortune, and y^t since he had publisht they might all depart more had given in their names then he expected w^ch wholly altred his resoluc̃ons of Suffring them to goe, beleeueing it would be an immediate destrucc̃on to y^s place, w^ch is y^e only ground (I presume) of altring y^t w^ch he had given his concession unto, w^ch is all at present from yo^r hon^rs most humble & Obed^t Seru^ts

Edw Cranfield
Marcus Brandt

[Endorsed] Surinam 11 July
R 11 Oct: 1675
duplicate M^r Cranfeild &^c.

III.

[Colonial Papers (MSS.), Vol. 35, No. 22III.]

Calendar, Art. 675III.

Protest of ye English Commrs agt ye Dutch Govr for detaining the Jews & free Indians wth the answer of the Dutch Govr to the said Protest Ent̃

WHEREAS his Sacred Majty of Great Brittaine, our most Gracious Soueraigne hath intrusted us Edward Cranfield Esqr, Capt Richard Dickenson, & Marcus Brandt Gentn with a Comn under his great Seale of England beareing date ye 28th March 75: to demaund, require, and see to ye execuc̃on of certaine Orders of ye High & Mighty Lords ye States Genll of ye Vnited Prouinces and Netherlands, directed & addressed to Peter Versterre Gour of Surrinam, in pursuance of certaine Articles of Surrender and treatyes of Peace att Breda, bearing date ye $\frac{20}{30}$ Aprill, 68 and ye Article of peace of ye 16th March, wth ye late treaty of peace att Westminster beareing date ye $\frac{9}{19}$ Febry 73 made between ye English and Dutch in ye late hostillity, and since ratified by ye approbac̃on & confirmac̃on of ye King our Master, & of ye Lords States Genll on both parts respectiuely.

AND whereas its amongst other things expressly prouided and agreed upon, both by ye abouesd Articles of Surrender & treatyes of Peace, & by ye dispatches, & Orders of ye Lord States Genll y all ye Kings (our Master) Subjects of wt degree, or condic̃on wtsoeuer inhabiting in Surinam, should haue full liberty then, or att any time after, to depart from under ye Gouernmt & dominion of ye Dutch as by ye Articles of ye late treaty of peace att Westminster beareing date as abouesd, yt all yt were Inhabitants in ye time of Surrender of this Colony should haue power to remooue themselues & estates to any other place, in his Mats Shipps wch are or should att any time be sent, wthout excepc̃on or hindrance wtsoeuer, & yt they should haue liberty in yt case to sell their goods & Estates respectiuely, & transport themselues in his Mats Shipps as is directed in ye aforesaid Articles & treatyes.

AND whereas we haue in pursuance of his Mats Instrucc̃ons deliuered ye said Orders of ye States Genll & desired wth all

respect & Earnestnesse y^e^ execuc̃on of y^e^ said dispatches & Orders, as also of y^e^ Articles o^f^ Surrend^r^ and treatyes aboue-said from y^e^ said Gou^r^ in all poynts.

And, whereas in our addresses to y^e^ sd Gou^r^ we haue humbly desired his Hon^rs^ Concession to all our said requests for y^e^ better Composeing of all grieuances of y^e^ aforesd Inhabitants his Ma^ts^ Subjects, and giuen an happy period to all differences to w^ch^ his Hon^r^ has not giuen Satisfactory answer, nor fully satisfied our demaunds, haueing giuen a flatt deniall concerning y^e^ remoouall of y^e^ Hebrew Nation, & free Indians y^t^ are Domesticks & belonging to his Ma^ts^ Subjects, haueing liued many yeares in their families.

And now whereas our requests, addresses and demaunds in y^e^ behalfe of y^e^ Hebrew Nation, for y^e^ remoouall of them & their estates, and y^e^ free Indians haue been rejected & y^e^ execuc̃on of y^e^ aforesd Articles and treatyes Waued and not executed accordingly

Therefore know all men by these presents That Wee Edward Cranfield and Marcus Brandt doe protest in y^e^ presence of almighty God, and y^e^ witnesses Subscribed, y^t^ we on our parts haue used all dilligence & earnestnesse possible to dispose y^e^ said Gou^r^ to y^e^ due execuc̃on of y^e^ aforesaid Articles Orders & dispatches, & to obtaine & procure from him liberty for all y^t^ were Inhabitants in y^e^ time of y^e^ Surrender to embarque & transport themselues, & estates, as also y^e^ free Indians in y^e^ Ships w^ch^ his Ma^ty^ has now sent according to y^e^ aforesd Articles & treatyes.

And wee doe protest y^t^ y^e^ cause & occasion y^t^ these Articles of Surrender & treatyes of peace in these perticulers abouemenc̃oned are not obserued, and executed must wholy lye att y^e^ doore of y^e^ said Gou^r^ & att y^e^ doores of those, who are, or were Authors & Instruments of his soe refuseing to obserue and execute y^e^ abouesd Articles and treatyes, to y^e^ Infinite prejudice and hindrance of y^e^ Hebrew Nation w^ch^ hath been done as aforesd.

Also we doe solemnly protest against y^e^ Gou^r^ for detain-

ing y^e^ aforesd free Indians, y^t^ are domesticks & of y^e^ families of his Ma^ts^ Subjects, haueing by an Order under y^e^ said Gou^r^ hand brought to us by y^e^ Sec^ry^ & Marshall to command y^e^ said free Indians a shoare, w^ch^ we were forced to comply w^th^ all, though to y^e^ great prejudice of his Ma^ts^ Subjects & discontent to y^e^ Indians, who are uery willing to goe along w^th^ their Wiues and Children.

And all y^e^ Mischieuous consequences y^t^ may arise by y^e^ detaining of y^e^ said Hebrew Nation y^t^ were Inhabitants in y^e^ said Colony as abouesd and also y^e^ free Indians, are and ought wholly to be imputed to y^e^ sd Gou^r^ and his said Authors & Instruments & to noe other.

We under written heard this protest read to y^e^ Gou^r^

Rich. Scott, Andrew Knight, Hierome Westhorpe.

By Command of his Ma^ts^ Com^rs^ I read this protest to y^e^ Gou^r^ of Surinam, w^ch^ answer he has Ordred his Sec^ry^ to write in Dutch w^ch^ is as followeth

Jn^o^ Millett cl.

[Endorsed] Protest of y^e^ Eng. Comm^rs^
ag^t^ y^e^ Dutch Gov^r^
for detaining y^e^ Iewes
and free Indians with
The Answer of y^e^
Dutch Gov^r^ to y^e^ s^d^
Protest. dat. 21 Aug. 75

IV.

[Colonial Papers (MSS.), Vol. 35, No. 22II.]

Translate

Calendar, Art. 675II. Answer of the Govern^r^ to y^e^ Point concerning y^e^ Hebrew Nation.

When I shall have received more clear & expresse orders from My Masters the L^ds^ States Generall & y^e^ L^ds^ States of Zeeland concerning the demand of y^e^ Hebrew Nation, I shall

allwayes be ready to lett them passe, & in the mean while do believe I have fully satisfyed the demand of the Comm^rs as having given leave to all the Jewish Nation that were free Denisons of England, & denied it only to such as were not so.

V.

[Colonial Papers (MSS.), Vol. 35, No. 22^v.]

Calendar, Art. 675v.

A List of Such persons of y^e Hebrew Nation willing to depart & transport themselues & Estates to Jamaica, but hindred by y^e Gou^r yet hope for, & humbly request another Occasion.

	Slaues
Isaac Perera	40
Jacob Perera	40
Dauid Perera	10
Isaac de Prado	40
Isaac de Mera	70
Aaron de Sylua	74
Isaac Gouia	25
Gabriell Antonijs	15
Moses Baruch	06
Benja. Perera	02
	322

There are Severall others resolue to goe when occasion shall present.

Ent.

[Endorsed]

A list of his Ma^ts Subjects &

A list of such persons of y^e Hebrew Nacon willing to transport themselues & Estates to Jamaica.

VI.

[Colonial Papers (MSS.), Vol. 36, No. 23.]

Calendar, Art. 818.

At the Court at White Hall
the 11th of February 1675
Present
The Kings most Excellent Majte
in Councill.

Vpon reading the Petition of Aron de Sylva and Issaack Peiriera on the behalfe of Themselues and diuerse other Jewes Inhabitants with in his Majtes late Colony of Surynam, Setting forth that the Petrs and about Ten other Iewes formerly setled Themselues in Plantations in Surynam and became his Majtes Subjects being made free Denizens by Letters Patents vnder the Great Seale. That in the 5th Article of the late Peace with Holland, It is expressly agreed that the States Generall shall suffer all his Majtes Subjects to dispose their Plantations in Surynam, and transport themselues with their Servants and Effects into any other of his Majtes Plantations. That Mr Cranfield in the presence of the Dutch Governor of Surynam promised to take the Petrs into his Care equally with the other of his Majtes Subjects, Whereupon they disposed of their Plantations and Ships, 250 of their Negros; but when they would have departed with the rest of their Servants the said Gouernor Stopt them, and absolutely refused to let them go as in the said Petition is more at large exprest, And praying his Majte to have Compassion on Them. It is this day Ordered by his Majte in Councill that a Copie of the said Petition be deliuered to the Right Honoble Mr Secretary Williamson who is as well to speake with the Dutch Ambassador concerning the same, as to direct St William Temple his Majtes Ambassador at the Hague to Complain thereof to the States Generall and to obtein their orders for the discharg of the Petitioners and their Servants, That they may be at liberty to go to Jamaica,

where they are to be receiued by the Gouernor, and to have the same measure of favour w^ch^ other of his Maj^tes^ Subjects have had in pursuance of his Maj^tes^ Instructions formerly given in that behalfe; And a Copie of m^r^ Cranfields Protest is also to be annexed to the said Petition.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL

[Endorsed] Feb^y^ 11 R. 22. $7\frac{5}{6}$
Order of Councill about certaine
Jews his Ma^ties^ Subjects att Surinam

VII.

[Colonial Papers (MSS.), Vol. 36, No. 23^I.^]

Calendar, Art. 818^I.^

Plainte ayant esté faict au Roy mon maistre dans son conseil, que le gouverneur de Surinam n'a pas Voulu donner permission a certaines Juifs sujets de sa Ma^te^ de se transporter de la dite Colonie avec le reste des Anglois quand les Comissaires du Roy y furent envoyees: Sa Ma^te^ m'a comande d'en faire part a son Ex^ce^ Mons^r^ Van Benningen Ambass^r^ Ex^re^ de Mess^rs^ les Estats generaux, et le prier de le Vouloir representer aux dits Estats, afin qu'ils donnent les ordres necessaires a leur gouverneur de laisser partir librement les dits sujets du roy avec leur gens selon le teneur du 5^me^ Art. du dernier traitte de paix entre sa Ma^te^ et les susdites Estats graux. Fait a la Cour a Whitehall ce 23^me^ de Fevrier. $167\frac{5}{6}$.

Les noms des susdites personnes.	Le nombre de leur gens.
Isack perera	40
Jacob perera	40
Dav: perera	10
Benj. perera	02
Isack de pradoe	40
Isack de la paxa	70
Isack govia	25
Aron de silva	74
gabri: Antoniis	25
Moses Baruch	06
	332

VIII.

[Colonial Entry Book (MSS.), Vol. 104, pp. 117, 118.]

Calendar, Art. 924.

At the Committee of Trade and Plantations at the Councill Chamber in White Hall Thursday the 18th of May 1676.

Present

Lord Treasurer	Earle of Craven
Lord Privy Seale	Earle of Carbry
Earle of Bridgwater	Mr Secry Coventry
Earle of Bathe	

Surinam, Mr. Cranfield.

Mr Cranfield did this day attend, and gaue an accompt of his Proceedings vpon his Majtes Commission & Instructions bearing date the 28th of March 1675 for the bringing of his Majtes Subjects from Surinam. He likewise presented to their Lops a narrative in writing to the Same effect, wch was read.

The Lords Ordered mr Cranfield to giue in a Memoriall

Simpson. about the Case of one Simpson, who, as he said, had behaved himself ill at Surinam.

Jewes. Mr Secry Williamson is to be asked what effect his Majtes last Orders had in Holland for demanding the Jewes deteined in that Colony.

Md. Mr Secry Williamson returned for answer That ye Hollanders denied that ye Jewes were his Majtes Subjects or free Denizens. . . . . .

IX.

[Colonial Papers (MSS.), Vol. 36, No. 75II.]

Calendar, Art. 932II.

At the Committee of Trade & Plantations at the Council Chamber at Whitehall Thursday May the 18th 1676

Present

Lord Treasurer	Earle of Craven
Lord Privie Seale	Earle of Carbury
Earle of Bridgwater	M^{r} Sec^{ry} Coventry
Earle of Bathe	

Jews of Surinam.

The Right Hon^{ble} The Lords of the Committee for Trade & Plantations taking this day into consideration M^{r} Cranfields Narrative touching the Execution of his Commission for transporting His Ma^{ties} Subjects from Suriname Doe direct that M^{r} Secretary Williamson be asked what effect His Ma^{ties} late Orders in Councill have had for demanding from the States of Holland, Those of the Jewish Nation who are detained in that Colony contrary to the late Treaty of Peace.

Mem^{dm}

M^{r} Secre^{ry} returned for answer That The Hollanders did deny that the Jewes were His Ma^{ties} Subjects or free Denizens.

[Endorsed] 18th May 1676
Minute of the
Committee of Trade
and Plantations
Touching the Jews
at Suriname.

X.

[Colonial Papers (MSS.), Vol. 36, No. 75$^{I.}$]

Calendar, Art. 932$^{I.}$

A Narrative of proceedings vpon his Ma^{ties} Comss^{ns} and Instructions bearing date y^{e} 28th March 1675 for y^{e} bringing of his Subjects from Surinam

Vpon the 6th of Aprill 1675 we sailed out of the Downes towards the River of Surinam with his Ma^{ts} Shipp Hunter the America and Hercules vnder her Convoy the Wind blowing fresh at North on y^{e} 8th it veared to the W. S. W. which put us into Tarbay where we rode till y^{e} 12th following *etc.*

On y^e^ $\frac{4}{14}$ of June Landed at Paramaribo where we were received by the Governo^r^ with Civility the same time we had a List of those that had then given in their names that intended to remove by M^r^ John Trott who had directions to Execute his Ma^ts^ instructions *etc.*

After we had delivered all the Letters to the Gov^r^ we acquainted him with the Tenour of Our Comission demanding of him to agree a time, and place of meeting for the adjusting of All matters for the transportation of his Ma^ts^ Subjects and their Estates; further we required him to publish within 3 days the orders now sent him from the States Generall which was done the next day both in English and Dutch and sett up at Paramaribo & Toororica *etc.*

Peter Versterre Gov^r^ *etc.*

To all People to whom these presents shall come Greeting.

The Publiqua' WHEREAS it is agreed betweene the ho^ble^ the Gov^r^ and the Ho^ble^ the Com^rs^ of his Ma^tie^ of Great Brittaine and found convenient to give notice to all Persons & appoint a day w^ch^ they doe hereby, for to decide and adjust all differences which may arise concerning debts, betweene the Dutch and Hebrew Nation and English who are to depart. Wee therefore doe hereby make knowne and manifest to all Persons That from the next wednesday come fortnight being the 10^th^ of July of this present they doe appeare here at Paramaribo for to have all their differences examined and decided we doe therefore order the Dutch Hebrew & English Nation that they without faile performe the premises and also draw their acco^ts^ of D^r^ C^r^ w^ch^ are betweene themselves, discompting one debt with another as much as Possible may be and to the end noe person may pretend ignorance the Ho^ble^ the Com^rs^ of his Ma^tie^ of Great Brittaine doe hereby give notice vnto all the Persons that will depart hence that they will make noe longer stay here in this River with his Ma^ts^ Shipps, then foure or five weeks time from their first arrivall with-

out any further delay, which all departing Persons are to take notice of that they make ready for the time appointed. Given at Paramaribo the $\frac{10}{20}$ June 1675

PETER VERSTERRE
EDWARD CRANFEILD
RICHARD DICKENSON
MARCUS BRANDT

The time of meeting being agreed on we desired permission to Conferr with his Ma^{ts} Subjects which was granted, whereupon we sent this Lre to acquaint them with the arrivall of the Shipps and the gracious provisions his Ma^{tie} had made for their transportations.

Surinam River America June 9th 1675

GENTLEMEN

WHEREAS we his Ma^{ts} Com^{rs} having bin acquainted that information hath bin given you, by M^{r} John Trott of his Ma^{ts} gracious intentions towards you in sending Shipping convenient for the Transportation of your famillies Servants and Merchandizes and all your Conveniencies for the making of Sugars and Indigoe to any of the Carribbee Islands and Jamaica or to England if it should be desired, now to the intent you may be further satisfied w^{ch} particulars we thought good to notify to you that the Shipping wherein you are to Embarque are all arrived with the provisions for victualling you and your Slaves in your passage or to be delivered you at your arrivall where you shall desire to be transported also the Letters we have from his Ma^{tie} to his Gov^{rs} to receive you with kindnesse and Civility and that if you desire to goe to Jamaica, by the head as well for yo^{r} Slaves as your Selves, double the quantity of land that is vsually allowed to other Planters and to take care that you be furnished wth provisions and other necessaries at moderate rates if you want till you shalbe able to produce them your Selves.

Now because a convenient time must be had for the adjusting all affaires with the Governo^{r} before your departure and to presse him for an hearing of all differences betweene you and the Dutch soe that satisfaction may be made according to the rationall part of the Articles of Surrender. We his Ma^{ts} Com^{rs} doe therefore desire you will repaire with all Expedition on Board his Ma^{ts} Shipp America now rideing in the River neare the Reade Banke where we shall be ready to receive you and take a List of your names & number of your slaves & do you any further service that may put a period to yo^{r} businesse soe we kindely salute you and remaine

Your Faithfull friends and Servants

To his Ma^{ts} Subjects in Surinam as well the Hebrew Nation as English.

Edward Cranfeild
Richard Dickenson
Marcus Brandt

Afterwards we went in Person and vissitted the severall Divisions and acquainted them with the advantageous settlem^{ts} his Ma^{tie} had in his owne plantations appointed for them y^{e} better to encourage them to embarque and to informe our selves from the most intelligent Persons of the State of every ꝑticular mans Case that might reasonably fall vnder debate at the Generall Court held for the determining of meum & tuum & likewise should not be liable to any debts in his Ma^{ts} Colonies which were confiscated to y^{e} Province of Zealand by vertue of y^{e} Articles w^{ch} were made by Col. Byam upon the Surrender.

After we had acquainted his Ma^{ts} Subjects wth y^{e} vtmost time The States had agreed to for their departure and that 10 dayes before their Embarqueing they were to give in their names to the Gov^{r} before their comeing off, we desired them to consult one another of a convenient and proper time for their Embarqueing and Signifying to vs their Resolutions at the Generall Court held the $\frac{30}{10}$ $\frac{\text{June}}{\text{July}}$ for the sealeing and determining their affaires, who accordingly did

give notice to vs that they would all be in a readynesse to embarque on the $\frac{2.6}{5}$ $\frac{\text{July}}{\text{Augt}}$ as we took care to avoid menaces and threats to them soe we cautioned to behave them selves in like manner w$^{\text{ch}}$ was likewise observed by the Gov$^{\text{r}}$ on his part; but some of the Dutch Inhabitants had raised a Report that they were to be carryed to providence next the Bahama Islands which at one time a little startled the Common sort of people but we could not fix it upon any particular Author. Vpon Our addresse to the Gov$^{\text{r}}$ in the behalfe of his Ma$^{\text{ts}}$ Subjects as well touching such debts as the Dutch owed to them as also for the Cattle provisions and other goods which dureing the late warr were taken from them by the Gov$^{\text{r}}$, both demands were fairely complyed withall first by giveing Judgment and Execution in favour of the English for all just demands made by them against the Dutch also full Satisfaction made by the Gov$^{\text{r}}$ for their Cattle provissions and other goods taken from them as was directed by order from his Superiors.

Some few dayes before the Generall appearance at the Court held for determining all matters betweene the English Dutch and Hebrew Nation the Iews that were Inhabitants at the time of Surrender repaired to us and demanded transportation with his Ma$^{\text{ts}}$ Subjects which the Gov$^{\text{r}}$ hearing of sent to them to give them notice they were not to remove in his Ma$^{\text{ts}}$ Shipps telling them his orders from the States was only to Suffer the English to goe, which we hearing of addressed our Selves to the Gov$^{\text{r}}$ in their behalfes conceiving it to be a violation of the Articles of Surrender since they had noe perticular capitulacons we presumed they were to have equall benefitt of the Articles w$^{\text{th}}$ the English. Vpon our discoursing the matter with him he replied the 5$^{\text{th}}$ Article of the late Treaty made mention only of the English removing in his Ma$^{\text{ts}}$ Shipps and produced at the same time the Articles in Dutch, whereupon we told him we were not to be Governed by Dutch Translation nor would he be Governed by those in English vpon which we produced the originall

in Latin which made mention of the word Subject both at the begining and Latter end which the Jews were to his Ma^tie^ before the Articles of Surrender. If the words Subjects be not allowed to be a Generall word of comprehension the Scotch & Irish may be detained as reasonably as the Iews.

He finding his argument not Sufficient to Collour his pretentions desired time while the Generall Court to consider on it which we consented to. Vpon the 1^st^ day of the Court we prest him to a Resolution he declared himselfe satisfied and that the Hebrew Nation were free to depart wherevpon we desired Publicacon in the Open Court might be made to signify his consent w^ch^ accordingly was done wherevpon severall of the Jews sold their Estates and made preparations for their departure. Some few daies after severall of the Jews came to vs to desire we would move the Gov^r^ to appoint some persons to sitt w^th^ vs to determine & Settle all matters betweene the Dutch and them since they had not timely notice of the freedome given them for their departure ag^t^ the Generall Court whereupon we wrote this following Letter to him.

Hercules Surinam River $\frac{6}{16}$ July 1675

Honoured S^r^

Whereas we find that the Hebrew Nation being informed of the liberty granted by his Ma^ts^ Instructions and your Concessions thereto severall of the said Nation are intended to transport themselves and Estates with this occasion and having lost the opportunity of adjusting their accompts with y^e^ Country at the past Court by want of knowledge of their now allowed liberty cannot find a meanes to receive and pay their debts without your Hono^r^ will please to appoint and Constitute some persons as one or two of your Councell to effect the same their concernes lying for the most part neare or about Tororica; wherefore wee deeme it very requisite that your Hono^r^ will appoint a day and such of yo^r^ Councell as you Shall thinke fitt with pub-

lique notice that those Persons that have any thing to pretend against them as shall give in their names to remove may appeare according to your appointed time at the Towne of Toororica that Such of his Ma^{ts} Subjects may not be debarred of their Liberty which is all at present from

S^{r}

To the Ho^{ble} Peter Versterre Governo^{r} of Surinam

Your Hono^{rs} humble Servants
EDWARD CRANFEILD
MARCUS BRANDT

At the same time we sent this Letter downe to the Governo^{r} there came in a Shipp from Zealand by which he pretended to have received Orders from the States not to suffer the Hebrew Nation to remove with his Ma^{ts} Subjects which he sent vs answer verbally by the Messenger that carried our Letter; wherevpon we went downe to him to demand a Sight of those orders but he would not, neither indeed could he produce them. M^{r} Cranfeild vnderstanding by the Major of the Garrison a List had beene lately taken of all the Dutch Inhabitants he made it his Businesse to insinuate himselfe more particularly to discover the number wherevpon he told him that there was but 130 besides the Garrison who with the Merchants residing in the Towne consisted of about 140 more. The Gov^{r} finding more of the Jews would depart then he expected did feare it might to much weaken the Colony which was the only ground we presume of altering that which he had formerly given his consent vnto. By much importunity he gave way for Signior Aaron de Silvis to send off 33 Slaves vnder the Conduct of an Overseere being one that was naturalized by Act of Parliament and finding he was deafe to all faire and friendly perswasion as we could vse in the behalfe of all the other Jews that inhabitted that Country at the time of Surrender notwithstanding some of them were free Denizens wherevpon we resolved to make a Protest against him the day before our departure a Coppy of which shall be entered hereafter.

The Generall Court opened at Paramaribo upon the $\frac{30}{10}$ $\frac{\text{June}}{\text{July}}$ according to the former Summons given the Gov^{r} with 2 of his Councell sitting with vs for the determining all Differences betweene his Ma^{ts} Subjects and the Dutch. In 4 dayes time Wee brought all matters to an hearing and finall determination equally given Judgment against the Dutch as well as the English where we could not perswade the parties to compose and end their businesse amongst themselves after sentence was given according to Justice and good equity we moved in the Court that discounts and transferring of debts might be admitted of as good payments for and towards the Satisfaction of the C^{rs} on both sides the Court giving consent therevnto wee desired the Governo^{r} to make this following publication & to have it sett vp in publick Places.

Surinam.

Publication. These are to give notice that the Com^{rs} on both Sides have thought fitt that all Discounts of what nature soever shall be accepted of as present pay as well from the Dutch & English as Hebrew Nations and that whosoever shall refuse to make present payments Execution shall be immediately issued forth against them and that all Persons concerned in businesse are to appeare here at 7 a Clock to morrow morning dated at Paramaribo $\frac{30}{10}$ $\frac{\text{June}}{\text{July}}$ 1675.

Peter Versterre

The English in Generall we found to our great Satisfaction were rather C^{rs} then D^{rs} and good debts on Sugars by them Sufficient to Satisfy what they owed except one W^{m} Wyatt *etc.*

As soone as we had adjusted a time for his Ma^{ts} Subjects Embarqueing and finding the Shipping sufficient to receive them we prepared a List of their names *etc.*

The Gov^{r} refusing to give complyance to our foremenconed Demands notwithstanding we used our utmost endeavour to

dispose him to an accomodation especially that in controversy about the Jews but he being not to be wrought upon by perswassions we excepted of such other pformances as he thought good to consent to and accordingly protested against him as we were directed by the 7th Article of the Generall Instructions and the first Clause of private Instructions.

* * * * * * *

It being proposed by the Govr and those in Comission with him mutually to Signe an Instrument thereby to acknowledge every thing had bin accomodated according to the Articles of Surrender late Treaty and orders of the States Generall excepting these particulars mentioned in the Protest beleeving that which concerned the Jews to be a matter of importance we desired time to consider of it while we had accomplished our businesse but since his Matie is pleased to declare whatever we should agree vnto he would ratify and allow we thought it not reasonable to Signe any stipulations the Jews being by the Capitulations of Surrender in the same Conditions as his Mats Naturall borne Subjects.

Our Shipps being in a Sailing Posture and finding longer Stay would not contribute to the advantage of this Service we tooke leave of the Governor August the 12th 1675

* * * * * * *

A MODERN MACCABEAN.

By Rev. Henry Cohen, *Galveston, Texas.*

It is the custom of certain Confederate veterans in Texas, especially those originally hailing from Mississippi, to speak of a brave man as "a regular Fronthall," and to use "physical courage" and "Fronthall" synonymously. When this martial phraseology had been frequently repeated in the hearing of the present writer—the name variously pronounced Fronthall, Fahrenthold and Frankenthal—he became interested in the valiant soldier and attempted to find out something concerning him. By questioning those who had spoken of the man, he elicited that Fronthall was an Israelite and as brave an individual as ever lived—a veritable descendant of Judas Maccabeus. From Messieurs D. W. Ducie and Charles Lester, two gentlemen of Galveston, ex-Mississippians who served in Fronthall's company (16th Infantry, Company A), a few facts concerning their comrade were gleaned, which, apart from the letter written by Col. A. T. Watts to the *Galveston News*, given below, is all that is known of him in these parts.*

Fronthall lived at one time in Port Gibson and at another in Summit, Pike County, Miss., where he enlisted as a private in A. P. Hill's Corps, Mahone's Division, Harris's Brigade. Subsequently he acted as drummer, but of his own free will shouldered a musket and fought side by side with the men of the Southern cause. He is gratefully remembered by the whole regiment, inasmuch as he was unremitting in his attention to the wounded. He was remarkably fearless, and it is

* On page 215 of Mr. Simon Wolf's *The Jew as a Patriot, Soldier, and Citizen*, among the names of the Mississippi contingent in the civil war is "Max Frankenthal, Company A, 16th Infantry."

said by his comrades that he had no superior in bravery. The engagements in which he took part were numerous, and while he was always heroic, he greatly distinguished himself at the battle known as the "Bloody Acute Angle," at Spottsylvania Court House, Va. (May 12, 1864), the particulars of which are herewith detailed. Fronthall came from the continent of Europe and was unmarried. After the war he resumed mercantile pursuits in his adopted State.

The following account of the battle in which Fronthall fought so worthily appeared in the *Galveston News* of July 15, 1893, and is an excellent tribute to the heroism of the man that stood at the apex of "the bloody angle." That the unparalleled severity of the situation should be properly understood, the communication is given almost in full.*

[Extract from the *Galveston News*, July 15, 1893.]

The Bloody Acute Angle.

An Interesting Chapter of the Civil War.

THE GRAND, TERRIFIC, SUSTAINED FIGHTING IN THE "ANGLE OF LIVID HELL AND DARKSOME DEATH."

Judge A. T. Watts having mentioned a remarkable incident of the war which practically has never been fully set forth in print, the *News* requested a detailed statement of it. It will be found an interesting chapter of the civil war, so prolific in startling events.

Gen. Grant with an army of about 130,000 confronted Gen. Lee with the veteran army of Northern Virginia of about 50,000, in the vicinity of Spottsylvania Court House. By a left and retrograde movement from the Wilderness, Grant had shifted his position from that of the Wilderness

*Judge A. T. Watts, now a prominent attorney at Dallas, Texas, was a private in the same company as Fronthall. In a personal letter, dated Dec. 12, 1894, to the writer of this article, Col. Watts corroborated all the facts in the newspaper contribution.

to the vicinity of Spottsylvania, where the contest which was suspended May 7 was renewed. The two armies confronting each other, lay behind hastily constructed works, Lee's left resting upon the Po and his right upon the Ny, at a point southeast of the town. At various points along the extended line fragmentary battles were fought. Hancock crossed the Po with a heavy column, with the purpose of flanking Lee's position on the left. Here, however, he was met by Heath's division and driven back across the stream with considerable loss. Again a heavy column was hurled against Gregg's division, which succeeded in entering a portion of the line, but by the heroic efforts of Gregg's brave boys the Federals were driven from the works and repulsed with great slaughter. Another assault upon a portion of the line near the center was repulsed with heavy loss to the assailants. These fragmentary assaults were truly characteristic of Gen. Grant's "hammering process," and it was at this time he sent the famous message, "We will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

The morning of the 12th of May, 1864, a day indelibly impressed upon the memory of the survivors of Wilcox's and Harris's brigades, was cloudy, dark and misting rain, and the same condition existed through the day. Wilcox's Alabama and Harris's Mississippi brigades were bivouacked on the north bank of the Po. About daylight these brigades were ordered to fall in and were soon on a quick march toward the center of the army, and after a rapid march of about three miles Harris's brigade commenced meeting wounded and straggling men. Everything semed to be in confusion, and evidences of disaster were seen in every direction. A short distance to the front could be heard the familiar crackling roar of a never-ceasing musketry fire. Harris's brigade on the double-quick soon came to Gen. Lee, sitting on his horse near a field battery, and near him was Lieut.-Gen. Ewell, both exhibiting considerable anxiety. . . .

This was 8 o'clock in the morning and the brigade was in

the bloody angle. What was the bloody angle? Only those who were there will ever appreciate its full significance.

As Gen. Lee's divisions came hastily upon the field on the march from the Wilderness they formed one upon the other without reference to the topography of the country or regularity of the line, and as the divisions came into line they at once commenced the construction of temporary rifle pits. Near the center the line formed a sharp angle or salient, with the apex or point projected toward the Federal center; each wing of the angle was refused or thrown back in such manner that, say 600 yards from the point, the two wings or lines were not more than 300 or 400 yards apart. So acute was this angle that the men to the left of the point for a distance of about 600 yards faced to the northwest, while those to the right of the point for the same distance faced southeast; in short, the two lines stood nearly back to back. This angle was in part occupied by a division containing about 4000 men and some eighteen pieces of artillery. The space between the angle was an oak grove. Immediately in front of the line was an open field about 100 yards wide, beyond which was a dense pine thicket. Two corps of the Federal army, under cover of the night, were massed in this pine thicket. These were under Gen. Hancock, as bold, enterprising and determined a fighter as the war produced. At daylight, taking advantage of the fog and mist, Hancock hurled this heavy column with irresistible force against the angle. The line was taken and Johnson's division with its brave commander captured.

This resulted in rending in twain the army, leaving its wings, as it were, in the air. For the purpose of placing an inseparable barrier between the two, this column, reinforced by fresh divisions, pushed forward toward the rear. Then it was that our gallant and glorious Gordon hurled his brave division upon the mass, and with the aid of Heath's batteries drove it back upon the lines constituting the angle, where it was reinforced and took position behind the reverse side of

the line of works. Now mark the position: the Federals occupying the works from the apex of the angle to the northwest for the distance of about 600 yards, nearly faced those from the point of the southeast for the same distance. With the advantage of that raking and flanking concentrated fire, it is marvelous that a considerable number of the two brigades survived that contest. Gordon's command had suffered heavy loss in driving the Federal column back upon the angle, and with thinned ranks he could but hold the position near the base of the angle behind some fallen timber.

This was the condition at about 8 o'clock in the morning, when Wilcox's Alabama brigade went into the right and Harris's Mississippi brigade to the left of the point of the salient. Each brigade succeeded in retaking the works the length of the brigade, which left about 350 yards of the works on each side of the point still in the possession of the Federals. Here for more than twenty consecutive hours a fierce battle raged in the angle of livid hell and darksome death. The main contest was a raking fire along the works, supplemented by a heavy fire from the front by the Federal column in line about the pine thicket. At the point of contact some short traverses had been thrown up, which afforded a partial shelter to the men from the raking fire. Here the opposing forces were within twenty feet of each other. In the front fire frequently the bullets fired at the Alabamians would pass across the angle and strike the Mississippians in the back, and *vice versa*. From this it will be seen that the two brigades for twenty consecutive hours withstood a concentrated fire on flank and rear.

The Federals not only occupied the reverse of the works, but were massed in line after line back to the pine thicket, and all seemed to be diligent and active in keeping up a continuous fire. Grant had massed at and in the immediate front of the angle during the day three army corps; these were veteran soldiers directed by General Hancock, an able and distinguished commander; with these there was no yielding,

they were there to the death. Both Northern and Southern writers concede this to be the most terrible and terrific musketry fire of the war. Some idea can be formed of the fury of the combat when it is remembered that trees with trunks from eight to ten inches in diameter were literally mown down by the leaden hail. . . . . .

At the point of immediate contact no officer commanded; there each private was commander-in-chief and all worked in harmonious concert. During the battle each private at that point must have fired several hundred shots.

The ground was literally covered by rifles abandoned by Johnson's division and the Federal dead, so that when a rifle would get hot or become choked by reason of the rain, it was discarded and another brought into requisition; in this manner each private used many different rifles during the engagement. Considering the number of men engaged, the Confederate loss was simply appalling, and the Federal loss must have been very heavy. Those who saw the field after it had been abandoned by both armies reported that the entire space in front of and about the angle was literally covered with the Federal dead.

The writer was at Winchester, Cross Keys, Port Republic, Gaines Mill, Malvern Hill, Second Manassas, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wilderness, Cold Harbor and Petersburg, but for grand, terrible, terrific and long sustained fighting, none of these approached the bloody angle. . . . . .

Here American was pitted against American. Their blood was up, and for twenty of the longest hours that ever came they were locked in the embrace of destruction and death.

For the accuracy of the statements contained in this rough sketch the writer refers to the survivors of Harris's Mississippi and Wilcox's Alabama brigades, which were engaged in that battle, and directly to Dr. E. L. Thompson, of Dallas, and Judge George Clark, of Waco.

In conclusion, I cannot forego the mention of one individual. Fronthall, a little Jew, though insignificant in

appearance, had the heart of a lion. For several hours he stood at the immediate point of contact, amid the most terrific hail of lead, and coolly and deliberately loaded and fired without cringing. After observing his unflinching bravery and constancy, the thought occurred to the writer—I now understand how it was that a handful of Jews could drive before them the hundred kings; they were all Fronthalls!

(Signed) A. T. Watts.

NOTICE OF JACOB MORDECAI, FOUNDER, AND PROPRIETOR FROM 1809 TO 1818, OF THE WARRENTON (N. C.) FEMALE SEMINARY.

By Gratz Mordecai, *Philadelphia.*

There is generally some personal interest in what may be termed the pioneers in any kind of work, and it has seemed that the successful efforts of my grandfather, Jacob Mordecai, during the early part of this century, in establishing a young ladies' non-sectarian school in a town in North Carolina, will be considered of some value and is entitled to notice in our records. The seminary became highly considered in many parts of the South, and daughters of well-known families of many Southern States were sent out to attest the value of its work and the strength of its influence.

Ample material is no doubt available for the history of education in the United States, and the Bureau at Washington has collected and published, and is continuing to collect, valuable records of the growth of education and of schools in every State of our Union. It may be hoped that the students of these records can fix in the future the high standing which has been attained by not a few well-known Jewish scholars and teachers, as well as the honors which have been won by many apt Jewish pupils. But neither sober history nor departmental records lend themselves readily to that sort of semi-historical, semi-biographical gossip which is one of the objects, as it certainly is one of the charms, of an Historical Society.

It will occur to most of you that, although born in this country, the life is of one resembling a Jewish Hacham, and you will probably wonder if it would not have been more natur-

ally passed under the settled industrial conditions of eastern Europe, far removed from the struggles needed to obtain a living in this young country.

As will be seen, his chief assistance in the solid studies of English language, mathematics and the like, was obtained from members of his own family, but in the accomplishments of music, dancing and drawing, it largely came from non-Jewish refugees from the West Indies. No one should be able to recognize better than we Jews can the benefit which this country derived in its earlier days from its associations with the islands which cluster around the landing place of Columbus, and we can therefore readily acknowledge the labors of Messrs. Achille Plunkett, La Taste and Miller, who were assistants in the school.

A patient search through old family records and letters of my grandfather and his family has enabled me to present these notes, supplemented by quotations, as shown, from family letters.

His father, Moses Mordecai, was born at Bonn, in Germany, in the year 1707. He was a broker, and, we are glad to add, was known as a man of strict integrity. He married, in England, Elizabeth Whitlock, who previously became a convert to the Jewish faith, which she ever afterwards adhered to in the strictest manner. They removed to America, to the city of Philadelphia, where three sons were born to them. Jacob was the eldest and was born April 11, 1762, and by the time he was old enough to take an interest in public matters the oppressive acts of George III's government were filling all minds with apprehension. In 1774, being then twelve years old, he was sent to a large school kept by Captain Joseph Stiles, who had been an officer in the British navy, and who, we learn, "preserved in his school a very rigid discipline, such as in these days would be considered extremely severe, yet he seldom had occasion to use the rod or ferrule, though both made a conspicuous figure at his side." Very early in the Revolution he was appointed

commissary of military stores. After the early troubles in Boston and Salem, and the addresses to the King, the people throughout the towns and country formed military associations, and Jacob Mordecai was soon a member of one of them. He states in one of his letters that "their uniform generally was a hunting shirt dyed as fancy pointed, and the youths of the schools and colleges in Philadelphia formed themselves in companies distinguished by different colors, armed with guns and trained to military exercises. In the month of September, 1774, these companies were all collected, and in the rear of the Rifle or Frock men marched to Frankford, about five miles from Philadelphia, for the purpose of escorting the delegates to town. They were on horseback, two and two, and with their military escort formed a long procession. The road was lined with people and resounded with huzzas, drums, etc., and exhibited a lively scene. In the humble office of sergeant I had thus the honor of escorting into Philadelphia the First American Congress."

From this school Jacob was removed by his father to the office of his friend, David Franks, Esq., who early in the war was appointed commissary for British prisoners, and was probably a kind of fairy godfather to all the bright Jewish boys of his time and city. He mentions that it was at Mr. Franks' house that he met Major André, then a paroled prisoner, who was passing his idle hours and exercising his talents in the most agreeable way by taking a miniature likeness of the beautiful Miss Franks, "to whom he presented it, accompanied by a few beautiful lines of poetry."

Moses Mordecai died in 1781, and in the following year his widow married Jacob I. Cohen, of Richmond, and probably from this cause the next distinct parting of the mists of our record finds Jacob Mordecai living in Warrenton, North Carolina. He had married, when only twenty-three years old, Judith Myers, of New York, a lovely and most lovable woman of his own faith, and with her had sought a home, first in Philadelphia, then in New York City, then in Gooch-

land County, Virginia, then in Richmond, then in Petersburg, and finally in Warrenton, a small town in North Carolina, which was destined to be the home of the family for some twenty-five years, and where his calling was that of a "country merchant," which included at that time a more or less extensive trade in tobacco, cotton and the cereals, as well as the greater variety of the country store of the present day.

Judith Mordecai, always delicate and with a fast increasing family, died on the birth of the seventh child, and it was perhaps natural that Rebecca Myers, the younger half-sister of his first wife, should be his choice in giving a mother to his children. Probably it was after the second marriage that he decided on a new vocation. Commercial life did not greatly interest him. It is not mentioned where he obtained his excellent knowledge of the Hebrew language and literature, but he was always studious and devoted to literary and especially to Biblical research, of which he left great masses of manuscript. He must have felt that in spite of his early imperfect education the work in life for him must be intellectual, and the most available field that of imparting his hard-earned knowledge. Reverses in fortune made it necessary to give up his business, and, not deterred by the disadvantages he labored under on account of his race (his own being the only Jewish family in the place, and indeed within a large circuit), he established in Warrenton a boarding school for girls, which in a few years grew in fame and consequence, numbering over eighty boarders each year. To quote from the memoir of Rachel, the oldest daughter:

"A proposal was made to my father by several gentlemen of influence and standing to establish a boarding school for young ladies, in instructing whom he might be assisted by his family. After some deliberation he decided on making the attempt, and with timid, anxious joy I found my ardent wish to assist my parents on the point of being gratified. In this I was assisted by my brother Solomon, then a

student at George's Academy, in Warrenton, and who, though four years younger than myself, was very capable of improving me. Amiable in youth and in manhood, he took delight in bestowing the time allotted for recreation to impart to his sisters the lessons he had been receiving, and I, with the strongest motives to sustain me to exertion, found nothing too difficult to be attempted for the acquisition of knowledge.

"The first of January, 1809, found us ready to commence our new avocation. My father had rented the house where we formerly resided; the store was fitted up as a school-room, and Mr. Miller, who had offered in a very friendly manner to adventure with us and fill the musical department, assisted us greatly by his experience in forming various little rules and regulations for governing the conduct and manners of the young ladies.

"June was the period appointed for the examination of our young charges, and we looked forward to it with the greatest anxiety. Though conscious of having to the utmost fulfilled our duty, we were still doubtful of success. It was now to be proved, and when it is considered that the maintenance of a large family depended on the decision of the public this anxiety is no longer to be wondered at. The time came and was marked by a degree of success far exceeding our most sanguine expectations. We received the thanks of parents and encomiums were poured in from every side. I actually wept for joy and prepared for the renewal of our labors with renovated zeal and alacrity.

"Our habitation was now too small, and my father purchased a lot with an unfinished building on it, and prepared to make such alterations and additions as were required. About April 1st, 1810, we removed with gladness to our new abode. The celebrity of our Seminary now began to increase, and the summer session commenced with so large a number of pupils that my father found it necessary to advertise (as he had invariably occasion to do in some part of every session

during the eight following years) that the number was complete and no more could be received. I have always thought that to this practice and the principle which gave rise to it we were in a great measure indebted for our constant success. The proof that we would not, from motives of interest, hazard the ability to pay proper attention to every pupil intrusted to our care impressed parents with confidence, while it enabled us at the same time to act with a degree of independence which we could not otherwise dare exercise. Our labors were at this time incessant, our plans not being sufficiently sanctioned by experience to be formed with that regular system which in succeeding years rendered our daily avocations less oppressive."

Even the principal, distrustful of his own attainments, frequently spent the evening in preparing himself for the classes of the following day. All went well, however, until in the third year of the school, while the workmen were still busy upon the unfinished house, there befell a catastrophe.

To insure the absence of lights in the bed-rooms after a certain hour the candlesticks were removed, but one of the girls, wishing to complete some sewing, adjusted a candle on the top of the wainscot. At least such is the family tradition; to our modern ears it sounds almost too good, and we may rather think that she was trying to finish a prosy novel by Richardson or a new but easy flowing poem by Walter Scott. However that may be, it is evident she fell asleep. The candle burned down and the house caught fire. Alarm was given in time to prevent the loss of life, but the building, with much that it contained, was destroyed. The eighty girls were scattered among the neighbors for the night, and the principal, going anxiously from house to house, had the immense relief of finding all his charge safe and sound. Another house was rented immediately, and the routine of the school continued as if nothing had happened.

The system of teaching was absolutely thorough as far as it went, and its moral and practical training was in accord-

ance with Edgeworthian ideas, then much in vogue. There was no dogma taught, each pupil being sent to the church preferred by her parents, but a strict code of morality was enforced, and the standard was the highest. There were but few text-books to be had in those early days of our commonwealth, and my grandfather and his young son arranged valuable compendiums of geography and mythology from such ponderous works as "Brooks' Gazetteer," "Guthrie's Grammar of Geography," and "Tooke's Pantheon."

The use of the maps was insisted upon, and the study of these with what were called "Principal Place Books" turned out many accurate geographical scholars. These last named books were not only geographical, but they described everything of interest connected with their subjects, whether historical or legendary. In history and the English language such works as "Goldsmith's England and Greece," "Murray's Grammar," "Blair's Rhetoric," and the like were conned by rote. Embroidery and plain sewing were carefully taught, and no doubt many a tear was shed over difficult fancy stitches in those ancient "samplers" and the neat "hemming" and "felling" of underclothing.

In the ten years devoted to this work many hundred young girls were educated. Mrs. Mordecai took charge of the housekeeping department, and some of us can remember, fifty years later, visits paid her by some of "the girls," at the time the wives or widows of distinguished men.

One scene is vividly recalled, when Mrs. John Y. Mason, formerly Miss Fort, who was shortly to sail for France with her husband, then minister to that country, called to say farewell to my grandmother. Mrs. Mason was moved to tears, and kneeling down, begged for a blessing. Mrs. Mordecai was then a silvery-haired widow, worn and aged, and in a solemn and touching way she laid her trembling hands upon the lady's head and pronounced the priestly benediction of our race.

As his children grew up, having achieved a moderate for-

tune, and beginning to tire of his arduous life, Jacob Mordecai closed his school and removed with his still large family to a farm in the neighborhood of Richmond, but alas! all the earnings of those years of toil had been entrusted to a single venture. It failed, and the last years of this sturdy life were spent as the first had been, under the pressure of narrow means.

His indomitable spirit did not flag, however, and the years passed in farming were not shadowed in his children's recollections by any repining on the part of their parents. The life was frugal, but full of comfort, industry and intellectual cultivation. Some time in the 30's he left "Spring Farm" and went to live in the city of Richmond. And now a painful and lingering disease developed itself, which for several years made his life a martyrdom, and in August of 1838 his brave and active spirit passed away.

In regard to his faith he was respected as an authority on Biblical matters, and more than one young person came to him to have his faith strengthened or her doubts removed. He occupied for several years the position of Parnass of the Portuguese Synagogue on Mayo street in Richmond, and at his house the dietary and ritual of the Jewish law were always carefully observed. There is a painting of him by Jarvis which is life-like, and portrays a finely shaped silvery head, its broad brow, its firm but gentle mouth, clean-shaven, its bright blue eyes full of intellectual fire under slightly drooping lids and bushy thoughtful eyebrows.

We have endeavored to show the difficulties which beset his life, how these were conquered by energy and industry, how self-training took the place of that of the colleges, and ceaseless toil kept poverty at bay, how the handicap of Judaism was surmounted by personal excellence, and how family love played its hallowed part.

This last consideration tempts us to add a short sketch of the lives of his children, thirteen of whom grew up.

His oldest son, Moses, born in 1785, became one of the

leaders of the bar of North Carolina and died before reaching his fortieth year.

Then came Samuel, a merchant of Richmond, who lived unmarried to a ripe old age. He was known as one of the intellectual men of his city, had a vein of quiet humor, and wrote a clever history of "Richmond in Bye-gone Days."

Solomon, the young teacher, afterwards studied medicine in Philadelphia and became a popular physician of Mobile, Ala.

George Washington, born in 1801, settled in Raleigh and became a lawyer, railroad president, and president of the Bank of North Carolina.

Alfred, born in 1804, readily obtained an appointment to the Military Academy, which in 1819 was just becoming prominent. He had studied at home and his only instructors practically had been the members of his own family. He soon, however, took and kept the head of his class, and caught at his beloved West Point the true spirit of the best military traditions. After graduating he became an instructor and later was known in this country and abroad as a scientific investigator and author and thorough executive officer of the Staff Corps of the Army from 1823 to 1861, when, forced by his strong family affection, he resigned both his position in the army and his future career. It is not too much to say that he was a favorite in every circle that he entered, and he was fortunate enough to marry in Philadelphia in 1836 Sara Ann Hays, a loyal adherent of his father's faith. She was the granddaughter of Michael Gratz and the great-granddaughter of Joseph Simon, of Lancaster, of both of whom this Society has heard before. Major Mordecai died in Philadelphia in 1887.

Augustus, the youngest son of Jacob Mordecai, was gifted with a racy but gentle humor. He married and settled as a farmer near Richmond, Va.

Rachel, the eldest daughter, who was such an important factor in the school and had great influence in the family,

married Aaron Lazarus, and appears in a modest way in English literature as the American correspondent of Maria Edgeworth, from whom she tried to eradicate some narrow prejudices against the Jewish race. Caroline married Mr. Achille Plunkett, and Eliza, a most highly endowed woman, married Mr. Samuel Hayes Myers, of a prominent Richmond family. Both Julia and Laura (the beauty of the family) died unmarried comparatively early in life. Ellen, who had a wide acquaintance and was, like all the others, full of sympathy for every kind of knowledge and every condition of life, died in 1884 at the great age of 94.

There remains as the living member of this large family Emma, the youngest daughter, who, strong in the sympathy and ties with her father's race and religion, adds day by day to a far advanced but, happily, still active life, and forms a part of three long generations which have extended over a period of one hundred and ninety years.

SOME NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By Herbert Friedenwald, Ph. D., *Philadelphia.*

It probably never occurred to the newspaper advertiser of the last century that while making known his wares he was at the same time doing the cause of history a service. And yet many an obscure point respecting residence and identity has been made clear by a careful search through these records, which are far from dull reading. And while it is true that advertising was up to recent years in what we may call its infant stages, still what it lost in experience it more than made up by the personal nature of the matter it contained. The tradesman appealing to his customers of days gone by knew them all in person. If a broker, therefore, announced that those who favored him with their business might rely upon his assiduity and diligence and "his utmost interest in their behalf, and part of the money advanced if desired," his was no mere idle declaration of words.

Further, an illustration of the value of the search of old newspapers for the materials of history is found in the case of Colonel Isaac Franks, of whom Prof. Jastrow has written so interestingly in the last number of these *Publications*. For a period of about five years (1782–1789) he was lost sight of, but from the notices given below it will now be seen that he was during that time living in Philadelphia and engaged in the business of broker. They also tell us much respecting the communal and commercial life of the towns, of the places of residence and business of individuals, and of the character of their mercantile transactions.

As we would expect, knowing what we do of their lives,

the most frequent advertisers in the Philadelphia newspapers, in the last quarter of the century, are the famous Haym Solomons and Jonas Phillips. They are closely pressed, however, by Isaac Franks, and the rivalry among them was evidently a keen one. Haym Solomons began his activity as a broker towards the end of the year 1780. As we shall see, his announcements at first are exceedingly brief. But they expand as the years pass, until at the time of his death they fill a whole column of the paper and appear in French as well as English. More can be gathered respecting the magnitude and variety of his mercantile and financial transactions from their perusal than from any other source. Another point of minor interest comes out, and that is his carelessness about the manner of spelling his name; for we find it at various times Solomon, Solomons, Salomon and Salomons. Unlike most of his contemporaries, he appears to have remained faithful to his one stand in Front street, from which place he never removed.

Not so, however, with Jonas Phillips, who kept what we would call a sort of "general store," and who changed his place of business with almost as great frequency as his stock in trade. The range of his wares extended from "callimancoes" and pins and needles to Madeira wine; nor were "umbrelloes" and "goloshoes" omitted from his list. And he even found time to pursue the occupation of "Vendue master" or auctioneer, as well. His advertisements appear at frequent intervals during the period from 1775–1777.

Isaac Franks carried on much the same sort of business as Solomons, although not on so extensive a scale. He moved about a good deal, too, for we find him located first in Front street, then in Third street, and later in Race street.

Others of lesser note whose names appear are Levy Marks, Moses Cohen, and Samuel Hays (the father of the famous physician Dr. Isaac Hays), who served his apprenticeship with Haym Solomons before engaging in business on his own account.

David Franks is discovered in the position of president of the Indiana Land Company; and Benjamin Nones, a broker,* Joseph Hart, who warns the public against taking up a fraudulent note for £750,† and Levy Andrew Levy,‡ who has various tracts of land that he is anxious to dispose of, also appear upon the scene.

Two persons, Solomon Aaron and Lazarus Levi, now appear for the first time in the pages of these *Publications*. The former announces his approaching departure for Europe in July, 1785, asking at the same time that his debtors settle their accounts with him. The latter makes his entrance into the goodly company of this Society in manner most unpromising. For over his name he warns the public that they are "forbid to trust the subscriber's wife, as he will pay no debts of her contracting." § From New York we have the furrier, Lyon Jonas, with his quaint cut adorning his advertisement.

Appendix I.‖

[*Pennsylvania Journal*, February 28, 1781.]

A Few Bills of Exchange on
France, St. Eustatia & Amsterdam
To be Sold by
Haym Solomon, Broker.

The said Solomon will attend every day at the Coffee House between the hours of twelve and two, where he may be met with, and any kind of business in the brokering way, will be undertaken by him; and those Gentlemen who chuse to favour him with their business may depend on the greatest care and punctuality.

* *Pennsylvania Packet*, January 5, 1785.

† *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 2, 1780.

‡ *Ibid.*, November 29, 1780.

§ *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, July 12, 1777.

‖ See article by Dr. J. H. Hollander in *Publications* No. 3, pp. 9–10. An advertisement similar to the one there given appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* at almost the same time. It has an especial interest in that it was the last one Solomon inserted prior to his death.

[*Freeman's Journal*, etc., Philadelphia, November 6, 1782.]

HAYM SOLOMONS,

Broker to the Office of Finance, to the Consul General of France, and to the Treasurer of the French Army,

At his office in Front street, between Market & Arch streets.

Buys and sells on commission Bank Stock, Bills of Exchange on France, Spain, Holland, and other parts of Europe, the West Indies, and inland bills, at the usual commissions.

He buys & sells Loan Office Certificates, Continental and State Money, of this or any other state, paymaster and quartermaster general's notes; these, and every other kind of paper transactions (bills of exchange excepted) he will charge his employers no more than One Half Per Cent. for his commission.

He procures Money on Loan for a short time and gets notes and bills discounted.

Gentlemen and others residing in this state, or any of the United States, by sending their orders to the office, may depend on having their business transacted with as much fidelity and expedition as if they were themselves present.

He receives tobacco, sugars, tea, and every other sort of goods, to sell on commission, for which purpose he has provided proper stores.

He flatters himself, his assiduity, punctuality, and extensive connections in his business, as a broker, is well established in various parts of Europe, and in the United States in particular.

All persons who shall please to favour him with their business, may depend upon his utmost exertion for their interest, and part of the Money Advanced if desired.

[*Pennsylvania Journal*, October 29, 1783.]

TO BE SOLD.

Five Houses in Second street, between Arch street and the New-Market, among which is the valuable one in which the Naval Office is kept. . . . .

For further particulars enquire of Haym Solomon, Broker.

[*Pennsylvania Packet*, January 11, 1785.]

Thursday last, expired, after a lingering illness, Mr. Haym Salomons, an eminent broker of this city; he was a native of Poland, and of the Hebrew nation. He was remarkable for his skill and integrity in his profession, and for his generous and humane deportment. His remains were on Friday last deposited in the burial ground of the synagogue, in this city.

Appendix II.

[*Pennsylvania Packet*, September 11, 1775.]

On Tuesday Morning
The 19th instant, at Nine O'clock.
Will peremptorily be struck of to the highest bidder, at
Public Sale at
Jonas Phillips's Vendue Store
The upper end of Third street

A large and general assortment of Merchandize, suitable to the season, being the property of a Merchant who declines the Dry Goods business.

N. B. The said Phillips has for sale, at his store near the Coffee-house, in Market street, sundry Dry Goods, Brandy, Geneva, Mamsy, Frontiniac & Claret Wines, sweet oil, new Raisins, best French and Carolina Indigo, mace, cinnamon, nutmegs and pepper, best northern Beaver and Raccoon Skins, with sundry other goods all exceeding cheap, for ready money only.

Goods received at his house for sale at Vendue.

[*Pennsylvania Packet*, September 17, 1776.]

Just come to hand, & to be sold at
Jonas Phillips's Store, In Market-street, near the Coffee-house.

A few pieces of broadcloths & coating, check, Britannias, chintzes and callacoes, black Barcelona handkerchiefs, linens, ginghams and linen handkerchiefs, writing paper, nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves and pepper, French & Carolina indigo, silk

and oil cloth umbrelloes, Madeira and Tent wines, Florence oil, with sundry other goods, &c., &c.

[*Ibid.*, December 18, 1776.]

JUST OPENING at

Jonas Phillips's store in Market-street, near Mr. Dunlap's Printing office.

A large assortment of DRY GOODS, consisting of checks, striped hollands, cotton stripes, fine and coarse white linen sheeting, linen handkerchiefs, oznabrigs & ticklenburgs, pins & needles, Scotch snuff, oil cloth umbrelloes, fine writing paper, indigo, Geneva, and sundry other goods exceeding cheap for ready money.

[*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, October 24, 1776.]

JONAS PHILLIPS, in Market street, between Front and Second streets, gives this public notice, that he is under the necessity of SETTLING ALL HIS ACCOUNTS with the persons he has dealth (*sic*) with in this or any other province. As he will shortly enter into a copartnership, he therefore begs it as a particular favour that all those who have any demands against him, will immediately furnish their accounts, that they may be settled and paid; and those indebted to him will pay their respective balances as soon as possible in order that the settlement of his affairs may have no delay. . . .

He continues the vendue business as usual, and any gentlemen who shall be pleased to send their goods, either for public or private sale, may depend on his utmost endeavors for their interest. . . . .

APPENDIX III.

[*Pennsylvania Journal*, January 15, 1783.]

Broker's Office, by

Isaac Franks, in Front street, two doors below the Coffee-house.

Where all foreign & domestic negociations incident to the various branches of this office, are transacted upon truly

moderate and liberal terms. The utmost secresy, candour and fidelity to the interest of his employers, will be found (as usual) the leading principles on which he means to establish the confidence & approbation of a discerning public. He buys and sells bills of exchange upon France, Spain, Holland, or any part of Europe, the continent of America or the West Indies. Officer's notes, loan-office certificates, negociated on the best terms. Money procured upon such interest & security as shall be agreeable to the parties, either for a month or year. Promissory notes and bonds discounted or sold. Merchandise of every sort disposed of upon the most advantageous terms, for which he has proper stores provided. Houses and lands bought, sold & mortgaged. Continental and state money of this or any other state bought or sold. Whenever sudden emergencies require money to be raised upon any paper security, merchandise or produce, every effort will be used to accomplish it on the best terms, by applying as above, where the utmost attention will be paid to the interest of all those who may favour him with their business, and nothing left undone that can possibly be effected by fidelity, care and dispatch.

Dec. 27.

[*Pennsylvania Packet*, January 1, 1785.]

ISAAC FRANKS, BROKER,

At his Office on the west side of Third street, bet. Market and Arch streets, almost opposite to Church alley.

BUYS and sells on commission, all kinds of Merchandise, Bills of Exchange, Continental Loan Office Certificates. . . . disposes of and purchases Real Estates, and every other kind of transferable property: he procures freight or Charter for Vessels, at the shortest notice; and transacts every other kind of Business as a Broker, with fidelity, care & dispatch.

Has for Sale, a Variety of
Well Assorted Merchandize,
Wholesale or Retail, upon easy terms for Cash or
Public Securities.

[*Ibid.*, January 3, 1785.]

ISAAC FRANKS

Begs leave to acquaint the Public in general, and his friends in particular, that he carries on the business of Brokerage in all its various branches, at his house in Race street opposite the King of Prussia tavern, between Third and Fourth streets. . . . .

[*Pennsylvania Journal*, January 4, 1786.]

FOR SALE.

A young likely Negro-Wench. About eight years old; has twenty years to serve. Enquire of

ISAAC FRANKS.

APPENDIX IV.

[*Pennsylvania Packet*, March 11, 1776.]

TO BE LET.

That large convenient INN, where the subscriber lives, lately occupied by Robert Mullar, pleasantly situated on the banks of the river Schuylkill, about four miles from the city of Philadelphia, together with the lot of ground thereto belonging, containing about two acres, on which are erected a good barn, stables, sheds, &c. Also another house and lot near the above-mentioned premises containing about six acres of well improved land. Also to be let on reasonable terms, upon a long lease or leases, about 1200 acres of good, rich, unimproved land, well watered, and divided into four tracts, situate on Wiconesco Creek, in Hoffman's Valley, in Lancaster County. Any person inclinable to rent any part of the said premises may know the terms, by applying to

LEVY MARKS.

As the said Levy Marks intends to leave the province by the first day of April next, all persons who have any demands against him, are desired to bring in their accounts, and receive their respective balances; and those who are indebted

to him, are hereby desired to make immediate payment to William Lewis, of the city of Philadelphia, Attorney at Law, in whose hands the subscriber's books are lodged, with direction to bring actions against those who do not comply herewith. LEVY MARKS.

APPENDIX V.

[*Pennsylvania Packet*, January 5, 1785.]

MOSES COHEN, BROKER,

Has removed from the corner of Chestnut & Second streets, nearly opposite the Friend's meeting in Second street, where he has for sale, upon the lowest terms for cash or public securities,

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL

Green, blue, pink & lead colored ell wide persians.

. . . . . .

Barcelona & flag handkerchiefs.

. . . . . .

Baizes & duffiels.

. . . . . .

Ratteens, calimancoes & durants. Irish poplins of different colours. Fine wild boar. Common ditto.

. . . . . .

Shalloons & . . . moreens, shags.

. . . . . .

Denims.

. . . . . .

Platillas, Brittanias, Dowlasses.

. . . . . .

Mens & boys maccarony & fantail hats.

. . . . . .

Pins by the pack, etc.

APPENDIX VI.

[*Pennsylvania Packet*, July 2, 1785.]

The subscriber intending to depart for Europe in a few months, takes this method to request all those who have any

demands against him, to bring in their accounts in order for settlement at his store, west side of Second street between Arch & Race streets: and all those indebted to him have their accounts rendered to settle the same with all convenient speed, to enable him to facilitate an adjustment of his affairs.

He returns his thanks to his friends and the public for their past favors & acquaints them he will dispose of his remaining stock in trade, at a reasonable advance for cash, consisting of a general assortment of Dry Goods, Hardware, etc. SOLOMON AARON.

June 27.

APPENDIX VII.

[*Ibid.*, December 7, 1785.]

SAMUEL HAYS, BROKER.

At his Office in Front street, opposite the Custom house. Does business in Bills of Exchange on Europe and the United States. . . . By a long residence with the late Mr. Haym Salomon, he has acquired a perfect knowledge of this business.

APPENDIX VIII.

[*Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 12, 1780.]

The Proprietors of Indiana are requested to be punctual in meeting, agreeable to their adjournment, at the Indian Queen Tavern, in Philadelphia, on the First Monday in February, at Four o'Clock P. M. By Order

DAVID FRANKS, President.

Jan. 5, 1780.

APPENDIX IX.

[*Rivington's Royal Gazette* (N. Y.), November 3, 1779.]

LYON JONAS, FURRIER FROM LONDON.

Living in Broad street, opposite the Post Office, has for sale

A general & complete assortment of muffs & tippets in the newest taste, ermine cloak linings, etc., etc. Also a parcel

of ground squirrel muffs & tippets; and the very best black martin and martin throat do. for exportation.

He likewise manufactures & sells gentlemen's caps & gloves lined with fur, very useful for travelling. He also trims ladies robes and riding dresses, & lappels gentlemen's coats & vests.

He buys and sells all sorts of furs, wholesale & retail.

N. B.—The highest price is given by him for grey & ground squirrel skins.

THE JEWS IN NEWPORT.

By Max J. Kohler, A.M., LL.B., *New York.*

There is no more interesting chapter in American Jewish history than the one which deals with the career of the Newport Jews. Its romantic phases have been impressed upon many a reader who is ignorant of even the existence of other Jewish pre-Revolutionary settlements, principally by Longfellow's beautiful poem on "The Jewish Cemetery at Newport." Curtis and Tuckerman and many another Christian historian have paid their tributes to the memory of these quaint but noble patriarchal figures in Newport's past, and so, also, have several Jewish historians collected a few of the incidents that constitute this part of our past history. I am not aware of any accessible work, however, in which the principal authenticated incidents in this history have been gathered together, nor where they have been treated in the light of our present historical knowledge and spirit. It seems to me desirable that our Society should use its endeavors to have these incidents made familiar to the American Jewish public, and it is with this purpose of gathering and sifting material already published, but widely scattered in different works, mostly obscure, that the present paper is presented.

Before devoting our attention to the standing and services of the Jews of Newport, a few words are necessary to describe the position of Newport itself. We must discard our present-day view of Newport as an important fashionable summer resort, and permit our thoughts to carry us back to the period when, for some thirty years preceding our Revolutionary War, Newport was one of the principal cities in the American colonies. In commercial importance it must be put in the

same category with Boston, Philadelphia, New York and Charleston, and it was not the most insignificant, even among these, for, as Edward Eggleston has well said, "he was thought a bold prophet who said then that 'New York might one day equal Newport,' for, about 1750, New York sent forth fewer ships than Newport, and not half as many as Boston."* It is no mere coincidence that the thirty years during which Newport occupied this proud position were the very ones during which its Jewish merchants were most prosperous and successful, and that its prosperity did not outlast their departure.

It is unsafe to give any date as fixing the time of the first arrival of the Jews in Newport, for there are isolated cases of Jews settling in various places in the United States prior to the usually accepted dates of first Jewish settlements, and the circumstances connected with the history of Newport make it by no means unlikely that an occasional Jewish colonist made it his home prior to the established date, 1658. I have no satisfactory evidence of any such case, however, and shall content myself with the conservative statement that the earliest Jewish settlers known to us at present reached Newport in 1658. Peterson, in his *History of Rhode Island* (p. 101), basing his statement upon documents then (1853) in the possession of W. H. Gould, Esq., states that "in the spring of 1658, Mordecai Campannall, Moses Packeckoe, Levi, and others, in all fifteen families, arrived at Newport. They brought with them the three first degrees of Masonry and worked them in the house of Campannall, and continued to do so, they and their successors, to the year 1742."† Other evidence exists to the effect that the bearers of these

*"Commerce in the Colonies," *The Century Magazine*, vol. 6, N. S., p. 250.

†Compare Daly's *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, p. 14; Fishell's *Chronological Notes; Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, p. 99; and an interesting series of three articles on the Jews of Newport, in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, vol. IV, 1855, pp. 181, 257, 295, particularly pp. 297, 299.

names were Jews, and this is supposed to have been the introduction of the Masonic order into the United States. In the *Magazine of American History* (vol. IV, p. 456) a paragraph appeared, taken from the Newport *Mercury*, to the same effect, that in 1658 fifteen Hebrew families arrived at Newport, R. I., and brought with them the first three degrees of Masonry.*

In singling out this instance of arrivals in 1658 I do not overlook the fact that there have been references to a settlement antedating this by a year, made by Jews coming from Curaçao;† no authentic particulars as to such settlement appear to be at hand, however, and I deem it likely that 1657 was written by mistake for 1658. The writer in Frankel's *Monatsschrift* contends that it is unlikely that the settlers came from the Dutch colony Curaçao, as the Jews there enjoyed civil and religious liberty, and states his belief that the name Campanelli, which he identifies with Campannall, was borne by a Jew who had gone to Brazil with d'Aguilar, and that the expulsion of the Jews from that country induced this contingent to go to Newport. To this it may be said in answer, that the Curaçao Jewish settlement, though under Dutch auspices, proved unsuccessful, so that settlers may have been disposed to migrate from there for some time at least, and the conjectural appearance of the name on the rolls of the Brazilian settlers has not yet been verified. Nor did the fact that Jews enjoyed liberal protection and rights in Holland prevent them, or people of other creeds, from removing to the colonies, as witness New Amsterdam, for instance; so this argument may be dismissed. The total number of Jewish settlers in Newport prior to 1740 was, however, very small, and we have satisfactory evidence of the arrival in Newport of a Jewish contingent from one of the West India islands, probably from Curaçao, in 1694. It is my belief that this is the party of Jews from Curaçao

* Daly's *Jews in North America*, p. 80, note 85.

† Peterson, p. 181, and authorities just cited.

which Peterson had in mind, and that he has somewhat confused the dates.

Attention must also be given to Judge Daly's explanation of this date, 1657, to the effect that Jews expelled from New Amsterdam between 1655 and 1657, because of Stuyvesant's intolerance, migrated to hospitable Newport and settled there, where they were joined by the Curaçao contingent, there being vessels at that time trading between Curaçao and New Amsterdam. Judge Daly does not, however, appear to have known the item relative to the fifteen families from Holland arriving in 1658; nor, in fact, is there anything to show that any Jews were ever actually expelled from New Amsterdam, for Stuyvesant was overruled by his superiors in Holland before his order of expulsion could be carried out; the New York records show conclusively that there was no period after 1654 when Jews did not live openly in New York, and none of the names of the Jewish arrivals in Newport during the 17th century can be identified as being the same as were borne by any Jews who settled in New York. Already during the 17th century there were commercial relations between the Jews of Newport and New York, and in the next century there was an extensive migration from one city to the other. It is therefore possible that there were some New York emigrées to Newport even in the 17th century, but the evidence of such fact has not been produced.

Dropping this conjecture, however, we notice a marked contrast between the treatment of the Jews in Newport on their arrival and that of New York. The contrast at this stage was favorable to Newport, and was characteristic of her principles of settlement. As Judge Daly points out, the last-named colony had just refused to join in the persecution of the Quakers, and announced that they had no law (in Rhode Island) "for preventing any one from declaring by words, etc., their minds and understanding concerning the things and ways of God," and such a pronunciamento may well have appealed to the Jewish victims of Stuyvesant's bigotry.

But we even find that Roger Williams, the noble pioneer of religious liberty, in founding his colony on these principles, distinctly included the Jews. Thus in his famous ship letter he wrote: "There goes many a ship to sea with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or a human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes, that both papists and protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship, upon which supposal I affirm, that all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges, that none of the papists, protestants, Jews or Turks be forced to come to the ship's prayer or worship, or compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practice any."* Again, in arguing in favor of the re-admission of the Jews to England, he said: "By the merciful assistance of the Most High, I have desired to labor in Europe, in America, with English, with Barbarians, yea, and also I have longed after some trading with Jews themselves, for whose hard measure, I fear the nations and England have yet a score to pay. I desire not that liberty to myself, which I would not freely and impartially weigh out to all the consciences of the world besides. . . . All these consciences (yea, the very consciences of the papists, Jews, &c., as I have proved at large in my answer to Master Cotton's washings) ought freely and impartially to be permitted their several respective worships, and what of maintaining them, they freely choose."†

It is not surprising that the Jews should have trusted themselves to a colony whose founder proclaimed these principles, and have found that their trust was not misplaced. Yet this very treatment of the Jews induced the exponent of Puritanism, Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*,‡ in the closing years of the 17th century, to characterize Newport as "the

* Straus's *Life of Roger Williams*, pp. 110, 111.
† *Ibid.*, p. 178.
‡ Book 8, p. 20.

common receptacle of the convicts of Jerusalem and the outcasts of the land." Comment is unnecessary.

On August 24, 1694, a ship arrived at Newport, then the principal port of entry, from one of the West India islands, with a number of Jewish families of wealth and respectability on board, who settled there.* This I believe to have been the Curaçao contingent already referred to. About ten years before this, there had been an affirmative declaration by the General Assembly of the Colony in favor of the right of the Jews to settle in Rhode Island. In the language of the official record, it was "Voted, in answer to the petition of Simon Medus, David Brown and associates, being Jews, presented to this Assembly, bearing date June the 24th, 1684, we declare that they may expect as good protection here, as any stranger, being not of our nation, residing amongst us in his Majesty's Colony ought to have, being obedient to his Majesty's laws."† This petition was favorably acted upon on the same day that it was presented and was dated, so the petitioners doubtless were already in the colony. It seems strange, in view of the fact that there had been Jews residing in Newport for over twenty-five years, that the petition in question should have been presented. The records do not contain any suggestion of any questioning of the rights of the Jews to settle there.

In a note in Judge Daly's work‡ a list of the names of Jews known to have been in Newport in the 17th century is given, which was furnished to Judge Daly by Charles R. Russell of New York, and which was made by N. H. Gould, Esq., of Newport, a gentleman described as being the best informed there on the subject. It will be noticed that Mr. Gould is the gentleman already referred to, as having been the possessor of the documents attesting the arrival of

* H. T. Tuckerman on "Graves at Newport," *Harpers' Monthly*, vol. 39, p. 372, cited in Daly's *Jews in North America*, p. 80, note.

† Bartlett's *Colonial Records of Rhode Island*, vol. III, p. 160.

‡ *Jews in North America*, p. 78.

the Jews in Newport in 1658. The list, which should be supplemented by several names mentioned herein, is as follows: "Samuel Isaac and Judah Moses, soap boilers; Moses and Jacob James, workers in brass; Isaac Benjamin, Abraham Benjamin, Isaac Moses and Jacob Franne or Franci, merchants and traders. How long they remained here I have no information; Jacob and Joseph Judah; Benjamin and Moses Meyers, Napthali Meyers, Isaac and Nathan Lyon, David Solomon, Abraham Jacobs, Solomon Mendez, Solomon Cohen, Nathan Cohen, Aaron Cohen, Isaac Cohen, and among the earliest lodge of Free-Masons were the following Israelites: Isaac Isaacs, money-broker; Solomon Aaron Myers, Joseph Jacobs, Abraham Mendez, Eleazar Eleazar, Moses Isaacs, and Isaac Eleazar."

It is evident that Jews in Newport had commercial relations with New York already in the 17th century, for we read that Isaac Cohen de Lara, a Jew, had shipped certain goods from Rhode Island to New York, which were seized by a pirate vessel, according to a communication from the Governor of New York to the Legislative Council in 1699, and already in 1674, while New York was in the temporary possession of the Dutch, we find that Asser Levi was the recipient of a letter from New England, doubtless from some co-religionist in Newport, contrary to the strict orders against intercourse with English colonies then in force.*

I find it stated that a Jewish congregation was organized in Newport already in 1658, but it is not claimed that any congregational records exist running back to the time. It is very likely that the date is correct, for here, unlike in New York, there were no prohibitions against public religious worship. The statement is found in a paper by the late Rev. A. P. Mendes, minister of the Newport congregation, on "The Jewish Cemetery at Newport," read before the New-

* See my article, "Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800," *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, pp. 84–5.

port Historical Society on June 23, 1885, and printed in vol. 6 of the *Rhode Island Historical Magazine* (pp. 81–105). Apparently no synagogue was erected till the next century. We find a deed on record, however, dated February 28th, 1677, for a certain lot of land, 30 feet square, sold by Nathaniel Dickens to Mordecai Campannall and Moses Packechoe for a burial-place for the Jews.* Rev. A. P. Mendes remarks that the Jewish cemetery in Newport covers more than 30 feet square, and that this purchase was probably an addition to the original cemetery. He also points out that when repairs were made to the cemetery after Judah Touro's death, in this century, many old tombstones were found in a dilapidated condition, all of which were carefully gathered up and buried there. These circumstances will account for the fact that no tombstones are to be found in the cemetery running back to the 17th century. A very good illustration of the Newport Jewish cemetery may be found in George C. Mason's *Reminiscences of Newport*, opposite p. 53, a book which contains one of the most interesting and appreciative accounts of the Jews of Newport known to me. We find that Abraham Campannall, probably a son of Mordecai Campannall, was licensed as a freeman on the first Tuesday in September, 1688,† and several other names of probably Jewish personages occur from time to time in the records. During this

*Book No. 3, p. 11, of Land Evidences Newport, described in Peterson's *History of Rhode Island*. Compare Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, vol. IV, p. 297; an article by Frankel in vol. 12 (1863), p. 326; Rev. A. A. Ross's *Historical Discourses*, Newport, 1838; and Peterson, *supra*.

†Bartlett's *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island*, vol. III, p. 243. It will be noticed that the name of the other grantee, Moses Packeckoe, is substantially the same as Pacheco, which we encounter in Barbadoes about 1680 (*Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 1, p. 106), and in New York in various connections between 1711 and 1730, *Ibid.* No. 2, p. 81, No. 3, p. 85, No. 4, pp. 192, 195 (Benjamin Mendez Pacheco; Daly, p. 31.) Probably the same family was known by the names Pacheco, Packeckoe, and by the name Mendez, the surname Pacheco appearing to have been dropped.

century, Newport itself did not attain special importance, nor did its Jews specially distinguish themselves. Upon the whole we may acquiesce in Peterson's statement that the earliest Jews in Newport did not possess the riches, the intelligence, nor the enterprise which so eminently distinguished those who arrived later.

A new order of things, not only for the Jewish community, but for Newport generally, was created soon after 1750, when the Lopez, Rivera, Polock, Hart and Hays families arrived at Newport. In speaking of the most prominent one of these merchant princes, Aaron Lopez, Judge Daly but voices the general opinion when he says (p. 77), "The advantages of this important seaport were quickly comprehended by this sagacious merchant, and to him in a larger degree than to any one else was due the rapid commercial development that followed, and which made Newport for a quarter of a century afterwards the formidable commercial rival of New York."

In an historical address delivered on May 20th, 1863, on the occasion of the dedication of the schoolhouse erected by the Trustees of the Long Wharf at Newport, William C. Cozzens, then Governor of Rhode Island, said: "It was generally conceded that Newport had every advantage. Wealth had centered here, and was attracting capitalists from every part of the world. Between 1750 and 1760 some hundreds of wealthy Israelites, a most distinguished class of merchants, removed here from Spain, Portugal, Jamaica and other places, and entered largely into business. One of them, Mr. Aaron Lopez, owned a large fleet of vessels (rising thirty at one time) in the foreign trade, and many more in the coasting trade. The order-boxes—or pigeon-holes as we sometimes call them—with the names of his vessels on them, are still to be seen in one of the old stores on the Lopez (now Finch & Engs) Wharf."* Again (p. 24),

* *Services at the dedication of the School House erected by the Trustees of the Long Wharf*, pp. 9–10.

"The manufacture of sperm oil and candles was introduced into Newport by the Jews, from Lisbon, between 1745 and 1750, and from that time to 1760 there were put in full operation seventeen factories for these articles alone; also twenty-two distilleries, four sugar refineries, five rope-walks, and many large furniture factories, shipping immense quantities of furniture to New York, the West Indies, Surinam and many other places. In 1770 I find mention made of eighteen West India vessels arriving here in one day." As has just been indicated, the Jewish merchant princes were not merely the capitalists who furnished the wherewithal for this trade, but their enterprise created the trade itself, introduced the new arts and industries involved, and furnished the trade connections through their co-religionists in the different foreign ports with which the relations were formed.

An account of the migration of the Rivera and Lopez families to Newport was given in the genealogical sketch which I contributed to No. 2 of these *Publications*. Rev. A. P. Mendes' account of the tombstones in the Newport cemeteries, as well as some further investigations by members of our Society, enable me to assign dates to the incidents there referred to. The Lopez family came from Portugal and fled to avoid the dangers of the Inquisition. The Rivera family came from Spain. Both had been Marranos or secret Jews in their old homes. The different members did not arrive together, but left their European homes at different times, and in several instances resided first in New York. As appears from Dr. J. H. Hollander's article on "The Naturalization of the Jews in the American Colonies under the Act of 1740," Moses Lopez, Abraham Rodrigues de Rivieres and Solomon Hart, Junior, were naturalized in New York between June 1, 1740 and June 1, 1741, and Jacob Rodrigues Revera in the same place on January 21, 1746. Apparently this was done in each case before they went to Newport. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the Navigation Act made it unlawful for aliens to trade in the English colonies, under

penalty of forfeiting their vessel and goods, hence naturalization was of great importance for the American Jewish merchants. A number of them probably had no difficulty in securing naturalization in Newport, but when Aaron Lopez and another Jew were refused naturalization in 1762 in Newport, Lopez immediately secured naturalization under the same British Act in Massachusetts.* The record of the Superior Court, refusing naturalization, is as follows: "The petition of Messrs. Aaron Lopez, and Isaac Elizar, persons professing the Jewish religion, praying that they may be naturalized on an Act of Parliament, made in the 13th year of his late Majesty's reign, George II., having been duly considered, and also the Act of Parliament therein referred to, this Court are unanimously of opinion that the said Act of Parliament was wisely designed for increasing the number of the inhabitants in the plantations, but this colony, being already so full of people that many of his Majesty's good subjects born within the same have removed and settled in Nova Scotia, and other places, cannot come within the intention of said act. Further, by the charter granted to this colony, it appears that the free and quiet enjoyment of the Christian religion and a desire of propagating the same were the principal views with which the colony was settled, and by a law made and passed in the year 1663, no person who does not profess the Christian religion can be admitted free of this colony. The Court, therefore, unanimously dismiss this petition as wholly inconsistent with the first principles upon which the colony was founded and a law of the same now in force. Superior Court, March Term 1762."†

It has been pointed out that this decision was not only wholly at variance with the fundamental principles upon which the colony was founded, but was bad law. The Act of 1740 was

* "Jewish Activity in our Colonial Commerce," *American Hebrew*, March 13, 1896.

†Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, vol. II, pp. 494–5. Compare Daly, pp. 82–84.

in terms applicable to the colonies, and their courts had no authority by narrow construction to nullify the statute, nor could any inconsistent earlier or later colonial statutes stand as valid while this British statute was unrepealed. The fact probably is, as Arnold suggests, that the strife then subsisting between the Chief Justice, Ward, and the Governor, Hopkins, was responsible for the attempt to prevent any increase in the voting population. In fact, the decision, if it was followed, which is doubtful, was easily evaded by such expedients as Lopez resorted to.

The first of the Lopez family to reach Newport appears to have been Moses Lopez, who was exempted in 1750 by special Act of the Assembly from personal tax in recognition of his past and prospective services in translating letters and papers from Spanish into English for the use of the Government.* He appears to have arrived at Newport some time between 1740, when he was naturalized in New York, and 1750. Abraham Rodriguez Rivera, whose daughter Rebecca Moses Lopez married in New York, had been naturalized in the same year; but Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, Lopez's well known brother-in-law, was naturalized in New York in 1746. As we are told that the whole family removed together to Newport from New York, we may approximately fix the date at 1748. Aaron Lopez, the famous half-brother of Moses Lopez, came with his family to Newport from Portugal in October, 1752.† Parliament had passed an act to encourage the manufacture of potash in the colonies, and the same policy appears to have prompted the Assembly of Rhode Island to grant Moses Lopez a patent for ten years upon an improved method of making it, known only to himself.‡

Judge Daly states of Aaron Lopez that "at the breaking out of the American Revolution he was himself the owner

*Bartlett's *Records*, vol. V, pp. 307–8.

†"Sources of American Jewish History," edited by Dr. Cyrus Adler, "Jews in Massachusetts," *The Menorah Monthly*, vol. 5, p. 258 (October, 1888). Mason says 1746 (p. 55).

‡Bartlett's *Records*, vol. V, pp. 375–6.

of thirty vessels engaged in European and West India trade and the whale fisheries, and was then and for some years previously looked upon as the most eminent and successful merchant in New England" (p. 78). It is stated that he was among the first to push the whaling business as far as the Falkland Islands. He and his brother Moses were partners. This extraordinary success in business appears to have been attained by Aaron Lopez immediately after arriving. The Lopez brothers, as well as some of the other Newport Jewish merchants, particularly Myer Pollack, were heavily interested in the West India trade in molasses, which was brought from there to Newport, manufactured into rum in the latter place, and exported to Africa, the vessels commonly returning to the West Indies with slaves. We have the Custom House records of the amount of molasses imported into Newport for the quarter ending October 10, 1769, which contains the entry of the ship Industry, belonging to Aaron Lopez, hailing from Jamaica, as also of the vessel Hope from Hispaniola, and Nancy from St. Eustatia, both belonging to Myer Pollack of Newport.

In 1773 we find Aaron Lopez appointed by the Rhode Island Assembly a member of a committee of three to draft a petition to his Majesty's Secretary of State for an explicit recognition of the right of the colonies to engage in fishery in Canadian waters. In 1776 we find the Assembly allowing him an account for £22 for gunpowder and a whale-boat delivered for the use of the colony.* Lopez and the large majority of the other Newport Jews espoused the American cause in the Revolutionary struggle, as is particularly attested by the fact that nearly all the Jews were compelled to flee on the eve of the British occupation of Newport. The Rev. Frederick Dennison, in the course of a lecture on the Jews of Newport, delivered before the Rhode Island Veterans' Citizens' Association on December 7, 1885,† said,

* Bartlett's *Records*, vol. VII, pp. 213, 462. Compare *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, pp. 149–150.

† *Narragansett Historical Register*, vol. IV, p 307.

"The Jews were friends of the colonies in the Revolutionary struggle. They gave liberally of their means to sustain the patriot cause. In some cases they served in the Continental armies." The evidence of service in the army by Newport Jews is very scant, because nearly all the Newport records were destroyed at the approach of or by the British, and the long occupation of Newport made American service there impracticable. I find Aaron Isaacs of Newport referred to as an active supporter of the army of the Revolution,* and the writer in Frankel's *Monatsschrift* identifies Salomon Rophe as another co-religionist on the army rolls.† Several other names possibly Jewish may be found on the same Newport lists. As for Aaron Lopez, we find that his espousal of the American cause almost wholly wrecked his business, nearly all of his vessels having been lost.‡ Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, in his "Memorials presented to the Continental Congress,"§ calls attention to a petition presented on behalf of Aaron Lopez to Congress in April, 1780, for a safe-conduct to enable him and his factor to remove some of Lopez's property from Jamaica to this country. It is there stated that "the character of Mr. Lopez as a friend to the liberties and independence of the United States is clear and unimpeached, as will be testified by some Honorable Members of this House." It appears from this petition that some of his vessels had been captured by American privateers, but that an award had been made in his favor in several suits in the Courts of Admiralty and Appeals. Attention has heretofore been called to the facts as to Aaron Lopez's philanthropy in founding the Leicester Academy. We also find that Moses Lopez and Jacob Joseph were among the founders of the Redwood Library, and Jacob R. Rivera one of its

*Simon Wolf, *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, p. 49.

†Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, vol. IV, p. 300.

‡Arnold, vol. II, p. 447.

§*Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, pp. 126–7.

stockholders in 1758; also that Moses Seixas was one of the trustees of the Long Wharf Trust designated by the Legislature, and for a long time its secretary.* The unfortunate accident which led to the death by drowning of Aaron Lopez is set forth at length by Judge Daly (p. 86), as also the view of a competent Newport historical authority that his death at this period, 1782, was one of the greatest misfortunes that ever befell Newport, because there is very little doubt that, had he lived, in view of his extensive business relations and the termination of the war, he would speedily have retrieved his losses and contributed greatly to restore the business and trade of the place. The very appropriate epitaph on his tombstone:

> He was a merchant of eminence
> of polite and amiable manners.
> Hospitality, Liberality and Benevolence
> were his true characteristics
> An ornament and valuable Pillar to
> the Jewish Society of which he was a
> member. His knowledge in commerce
> was unbounded and his integrity irreproachable;
> thus he lived and died, much regretted,
> esteemed and loved by all.

as well as those of some of the other leading Newport Jews, may be found in Markens' *The Hebrews in America*, where they are made more accessible than in the article by Rev. A. P. Mendes, from which Markens no doubt derived them.

Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, whose daughter became Aaron Lopez's second wife, we have already referred to; he it was who introduced the sperm oil industry in America, which was one of the principal sources of Newport's prosperity. He was a large importer of dry goods, and was a man of most exemplary integrity and probity, as witness the various

* *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 4, pp. 88–9, Mason, p. 54; *Services at the dedication of the School House erected by the trustees of the Long Wharf*, 1863, pp. 57, 58, 104.

anecdotes and stories told about him.* After they fled from Newport in 1777, Jacob R. Rivera, the Lopez family, and some members of the Mendes family, removed to Leicester, Massachusetts, and lived and traded there until 1782.† Rivera died at Newport at the age of 72, in the year 1789. Among the other distinguished Jewish merchants of Newport were the Pollocks, one member of which family has already been mentioned, and other particulars about whom may be found collected in Mason's work; Isaac Hart, who was a patron of the fine arts, and who fell a martyr to his espousal of the Tory cause;‡ and Moses Michael Hays, who subsequently removed to Boston with his young nephews, Abraham and Judah Touro; he was not only a man of great wealth and business acumen, but of the broadest philanthropy.§

The noble career of the Touro brothers, in spite of their birth in Newport and their generosity towards their native city, still recognized in the name of one of its principal streets, belongs to the history of the Jews of Boston and New Orleans respectively. Among other early Jewish settlers at Newport we find the names of Moses Alvarez, who died in 1766; Myers Benjamin, who died in 1766; Isaac Mendèz Seixas (1780), Benjamin Levy (1787), Mrs. Martha Moravia (1787) and Moses Levy.‖ It should be noticed that mem-

* See *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, pp. 101–106; Mason, p. 58. The article on the Jews of Newport contained in a compilation edited by A. G. Daniels, and referred to in note 91 of Daly (p. 86), appears to be an unacknowledged reprint of a chapter from Mason's work.

† See Dr. Cyrus Adler's article in *Menorah Monthly*, *supra*, quoting from Washburn's *Historical Sketches of Leicester*.

‡ *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 4, pp. 88–9.

§ See Mason, p. 67.

‖ See article by Mendes, *supra*. An interesting account of several of these persons is found in an article by Mr. N. Taylor Phillips on "The Levy and Seixas Families of Newport and New York," *Pub.* No. 4, pp. 189–214. I am also indebted to Dr. Herbert Friedenwald for the following extract from an intercepted letter, written by Jacob Franks in London, Sept. 6, 1775, to Moses Levy of Newport, "The

bers of the Jewish families of Newport were residents also of Portugal, the West Indies, New York, Boston, Leicester, Providence, Richmond, Wilmington, Savannah, Charleston, North Carolina and New Orleans. When we recollect that intercolonial trade scarcely existed in those days, principally because the inhabitants of the different colonies were strangers and aliens to each other, we can begin to realize the secret of the success of the Jews in commerce and their services to their respective localities.* Speaking of these Jews of Newport, Judge Daly has well said, "They were in fact the chief persons of the place, for, besides Lopez and Rivera, there were many Jewish merchants there, men of wealth, cultivation, intelligence and enterprise, and the commercial prosperity which they contributed so materially to bring about was due not only to their remarkable capacity and industry, but to the confidence inspired by their scrupulous integrity and delicate sense of mercantile honor."

Among the Newport Jews who were less successful in a worldly sense, though not because of want of enterprise and push, was Jacob Isaacs, whose memorial to Congress in 1791 relative to a method of converting salt water into fresh water, was the subject of a paper by Dr. Friedenwald in No. 2 of our *Publications* (p. 111). Mason devotes a few lines to him which do not appear to have been brought to Dr. Friedenwald's attention. He says (p. 61): "Jacob Isaacs kept himself before the public through his untiring effort to get on in the world. In 1772 he was insolvent, and from that time we hear nothing from him until 1783, when he offered

circumstances of the times and the late proclamation forbid the sending money to America; will therefore keep it for Levy's disposal, unless he desires to put it into hands less scrupulous." From Eng. Hist. MSS. Commission. Dartmouth MSS., 14th Report, Appdx., Part X, p. 373.

*Notice in this connection the intercolonial "trust" or combine formed in 1761, composed largely of American Jewish merchants herein referred to, which is described at length in an interesting article by Geo. P. Mason on the United Company of Spermaceti Chandlers, in *Magazine of New England History*, vol. II, pp. 165–9.

to have vessels built by the best workmen in Rhode Island or Massachusetts on reasonable terms, and at the same time he made it known that he was doing a general brokerage business. The year before he opened an insurance office, but it seems to have been only on paper, for we hear nothing more from it. At the time of Washington's visit to Newport, 1790, he brought himself again into notice by presenting the President with 'a bottle of water extracted from ocean water, so free ftom saline matter as to answer for all the common and culinary purposes of fountain or river water.' The narrative goes on to state that 'the President was pleased to express himself highly satisfied therewith.' Isaacs was gathered to his fathers in 1798, at an advanced age."

But to return to the general community of Jews at Newport. It appears to have received a number of accessions about 1755, after the Lisbon earthquake of that year. Among these was Rev. Isaac Touro, who, it is said, reached Newport about 1758 from Jamaica. His arrival seems to have stimulated the religious zeal of the community, whose minister he became, for in 1762 the building of the first synagogue in Newport was begun, and the edifice was finished and dedicated on Dec. 2, 1763, with great pomp and magnificence.* There were at this time probably over sixty Jewish families in Newport. Soon after, Haym Isaac Karigel appears to have reached Newport also, and to have became Chazan of the synagogue. He became an intimate friend of Ezra Stiles, the well known president of Yale University, taught him Hebrew, and had many a warm discussion with him. We

* A number of additional items of interest about this synagogue, its dedication, etc., and about the Jews in Newport generally, may be found in the "Consecration Number, Shearith Israel Congregation" of *The American Hebrew* (issue of May 21, 1897), and in this *Publication*. See also: George W. Curtis on "Newport, Historical and Social," in *Harpers' Monthly*, vol. 9, p. 289; L. W. Champney on "Society of Newport in the 18th Century," *Harpers' Monthly*, vol. 59, p. 497; and George W. Channing's *Early Recollections of Newport*, ch. XVI, "Jews and their Synagogue," pp. 198–204 and *in passim*.

have in our possession a copy of a sermon preached by Karigel in Newport on May 28, 1773, which was translated from the original Spanish into English by Abraham Lopez,* and I am informed by Professor F. B. Dexter, of Yale University, that the library of that institution, among the Stiles correspondence, still contains original letters from Karigel to Stiles. Just before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the Jewish community appears to have been composed of about two hundred families. The community was very largely dispersed by the war, many of its members never returned, and those who did were unable to repair the ruin which the city and its trade had suffered from the effects of the war. In 1790 the Jewish community presented an address to Washington, which he responded to in the enlightened and characteristically American reply which is so well known;† the original reply of President Washington is in the possession of Mr. Frederick Phillips of New York City. Soon, however, there ceased to be a Minyan for service, and when the eminent philanthropist, Judah Touro, was buried there on January 13th, 1854, the Jews in Newport had long been merely a memory. Judah and his brother Abraham Touro, by their generous bequests to Newport, have made the Jewish name a continuing blessing to the place, so as to cause the realization of the truth of the epitaph on his tombstone "The last of his name. He inscribed it in the book of philanthropy, to be remembered forever." In recent years Jews became residents of Newport once more, the synagogue was again opened in 1882, Rev. A. P. Mendes was its minister until his death, and a second congregation was also formed. But times have

* *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 1, p. 123, No. 3, pp. 122–5. Holmes' *Life of President Stiles*, pp. 128, 129, 168, 192. *Life of Stiles*, Sparks' Am. Biographies, vol. 16. Hannah Adams' *History of the Jews*, London edition of 1840, pp. 461–3. Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, vol. IV, pp. 295–6. Lady Magnus' *Outlines of Jewish History*, Am. Chapters in Jewish Pub. Soc. edition.

† *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, pp. 90–92.

changed and men have changed, and as concerns the race of Jewish merchant princes of Newport, Longfellow's verse still rings true:

"Gone are the living, but the dead remain,
And not neglected; for a hand unseen,
Scattering its bounty, like a summer rain,
Still keeps their graves and their remembrance green."

CIVIL STATUS OF THE JEWS IN COLONIAL NEW YORK.

By Max J. Kohler, A.M., LL.B., *New York.*

It is the purpose of the present paper to give an outline of the historical development of the acquisition of full civil rights by the Jews in New York. I am aware of the fact that this is an extremely arduous undertaking, in view of the almost utter neglect of the whole field of the legal status of colonists in the English possessions in America. The importance of the subject, however, ought to justify the presentation of even purely tentative investigations. The first branch of this subject, the history of the legal status of the Jews during the Dutch period, has received quite elaborate treatment, principally at the hands of Judge Daly. Were it not for the fact that the subsequent history could not be properly understood without first considering the conditions under Dutch rule, this earlier period might well be omitted. The periods are so closely connected, however, and the former throws so much light on the latter, that this suggestion cannot with prudence be adopted. Moreover, in treating the Dutch period with this particular purpose in view it will be possible to trace the development clearly and concisely, and while so doing, some new light may be afforded from the use of original papers in the archives of the State of New York at Albany, instead of the printed abstracts and digests heretofore employed. As to the English colonial period, new and broader lines of inquiry will be adopted, recognition being had both of the influence of British written and unwritten law, and also of the further element of the legal limitations and restrictions set upon colonial legislation by the British constitution.

Although the English laid claims to New York long prior to their conquest in 1664, the first settlements there were made by the Dutch under the direction of the Dutch West India Company, and they remained in exclusive possession till 1664. There is conclusive evidence at hand that Jews, soldiers and sailors, reached New Amsterdam as early as 1652, having been sent here by the Directors of the Company.* Mr. Dyer has called attention to the fact that well-to-do Jewish merchants from Amsterdam had settled here in 1654 without any questioning of their right.† How much earlier, isolated individuals of the Jewish race may have arrived here, no one can tell. The official records, known to us at present, are silent as to any such arrivals prior to 1652, but the references to these early arrivals are so purely haphazard and incidental that one cannot assume that such arrivals would have attracted any particular attention.‡ It is possible, as has been suggested by Mr. Dyer, that the Amsterdam merchants came over with special grants of rights and privileges from the Dutch West India Company, in which the Jews were heavily interested as stockholders, and which is even said to have had some Jewish directors. The evidence of such special grant of privileges is not at hand, however, and the assumption is by no means a necessary one. Jews residing in Holland may reasonably be expected to have migrated to Dutch colonies in the confident expectation that they would continue to share the same rights as in the mother country.§ At this time the Jews of Holland enjoyed religious

*"Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800," II, *Pub. Amer. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, pp. 73–5.

†"Points in the First Chapter of New York Jewish History," *ibidem*, pp. 43–4.

‡Compare *ibidem*, No. 2, p. 77.

§It may confidently be expected that new matter relative to the Jews in New York in the Dutch period will be brought to light when the translations of the New York City Colonial Records are published. The first volume of these, edited by B. Fernow, is now in press.

toleration, the restrictions upon their rights being that they were forbidden to write or speak disparagingly of the Christian religion, to make converts, to intermarry with Christians, and to follow any mechanical pursuit or to engage in retail trade. They enjoyed full political privileges, but were not allowed to exercise the rites of their religion otherwise than in privacy, public edifices being prohibited for that purpose.* The assumption that Dutch Jews settling in New Netherland would enjoy substantially the same privileges was in fact realized in a great measure.

A priori inferences must, however, be modified by a consideration of certain extrinsic circumstances. The first of these is that the authority of the Dutch West India Company over the territory in question was so great and sweeping that it could have wholly prohibited such settlement. On the other hand, it should be remembered that this company was controlled by Dutch merchants who constantly had extensive business associations with Jews; that there were a number of Jewish stockholders in the company itself, some of great influence; and furthermore that Jews had been very active in the South American colony controlled by the same company, Brazil, and that they were expelled from that colony upon its conquest by the Portuguese in 1654. Whatever tendency there may have been on the part of individuals to induce the company to adopt the prevailing policy of intolerance and exclusion towards the Jews which characterized the times, instead of the liberal methods of the Dutch government, were fully offset by these other considerations.

Thus we find Jacob Aboaf and Jacob Barsimson, Jews, arriving at New Amsterdam, July 8, 1654, without attracting any attention,† and soon after a party of 27 from Brazil arrived, who were immediately involved in legal proceedings

* Daly, *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, p. 4.

†"Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800," *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, p. 77.

because of failure to pay their passage money. In spite of the fact that two of these were detained in custody for some time at the creditors' expense, pending the payment of this money, in accordance with the harsh debtor's laws of the day, we can see no discrimination against these settlers because of their faith, nor any denial of their right to remain here.

The number of Jewish residents had, however, rapidly increased by this time, and the expulsion of thousands of Jews from Brazil must have given ground for the belief that the number would grow enormously. Moreover, the Brazilian exiles had doubtless been despoiled before they could leave Brazil, and we learn from a letter written by the Rev. Johannus Megopolensis from New Amsterdam on March 18, 1655, that they were poor and became a charge upon the Dutch church, which had to spend several hundred guilders for their support. The Dutch dominie continued: "They came several times to my house weeping and bemoaning their misery, and when I directed them to the Jewish merchants, they said that these would not lend them a few stivers. Some more have come from Holland this spring, reporting that still more of this lot would follow and then build here a synagogue. This causes among the congregation here a great deal of grumbling and murmuring. As these people have no other god but the unrighteous mammon, and no other aim than to get possession of Christian property, and to ruin all other merchants by drawing all trade towards themselves, therefore we request your Reverences [the Classis of Amsterdam] to obtain an order from the Lords Directors that these godless rascals, who are of no benefit to the country, but look at everything for their profit, may be sent away from here."*

Shortly before this letter was written, in the spring of 1655, other Jews appear to have arrived at New Amsterdam from Holland, who are referred to in this letter; apparently they came under the authority of orders from the Company

* Dyer, *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, pp. 43–4.

dated February 15, 1655, which are no longer extant.* Before they could have arrived, Abram De La Simon, one of the Jewish residents of New Amsterdam, was arrested for keeping his store open during the sermon on Sunday. He was arraigned before the Burgomasters and Schepens on March 1, 1655, and it was then announced that the Director General, Stuyvesant, and the Supreme Council have resolved that the Jews who came here from the West Indies and now from Fatherland must prepare to depart forthwith, and that they shall receive notice thereof.† The Council as well as the Burgomasters and Schepens at this time were wholly under Stuyvesant's influence, and he appears to have recommended even before this that the Directors issue orders for the expulsion of the Jews.

In answer to this recommendation, and in all probability before the orders of expulsion could have been even partially carried out, the authorization of February 15, 1655, was followed up by the instructions from the Directors of the Company to Stuyvesant, dated April 26, 1655: "We would have liked to agree to your wishes and request, that the new territories should not be further invaded by people of the Jewish race, for we foresee from such immigration the same difficulties which you fear, but after having further weighed and considered the matter we observe that it would be unreasonable and unfair, especially because of the considerable loss sustained by the Jews in the taking of Brazil, and also because of the large amount of capital which they have invested in shares of this Company. After many consultations we have decided and resolved upon a certain petition made by said Portuguese Jews, that they shall have permission to sail to and trade in New Netherland and to live and remain there, provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the Company, or to the community, but be supported by their own nation. You will govern yourself accordingly."‡

* Daly, p. 10, note no. 9. † *Ibidem*, pp. 11–12, note no. 10.

‡ *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. XIV, p. 315.

It will be observed that for the purposes of maintaining their own poor at least, the Jews were treated as a separate class, and these instructions did not definitely state that they were to have the same rights as in Holland. The way was still open, therefore, for further intolerance on Stuyvesant's part. This was met by the Directors in a letter to Stuyvesant, dated March 13, 1656, in the course of which they state: "The permission given to the Jews to go to New Netherland and enjoy the same privileges as they have here (in Amsterdam) has been granted only as far as civil and political rights are concerned, without giving the said Jews a claim to the privilege of exercising their religion in a synagogue or gathering."

That question was reserved, for the time, but was disposed of as follows in their letter to Stuyvesant dated June 14, 1656: "We have seen and heard with displeasure that, against our orders of the 15th day of February, 1655, issued at the request of the Jewish or Portuguese nation, you have forbidden them to trade to Fort Orange and the South River, also the purchase of real estate, which is granted to them without difficulty here in this country, and we wish it had not been done, and that you had obeyed our orders, which you must always execute punctually and with more respect. Jews or Portuguese people, however, shall not be employed in any public service (to which they are neither admitted in this city) nor allowed to have open retail shops, but they may quietly and peacefully carry on their business as aforesaid, and exercise in all quietness their religion within their houses, for which end they must without doubt endeavor to build their houses close together in a convenient place on one or the other side of New Amsterdam—at their choice —as they have done here." *

The Jews had by this time won the battle and their rights were established; it is even improbable that so much of these orders as may have tended to require the establishment of a

* Daly, note no. 11, pp. 12–13.

Ghetto was ever carried out. The Governor and the Council were therefore compelled to reverse their earlier action in refusing to permit Jews to purchase real property,* and Jews thereafter freely purchased land. The same occurred relative to trading on the South River (the Delaware), at Fort Orange, at Albany, etc., the Company's orders leading to a reversal of Stuyvesant's partial prohibition.†

A resolution of the Governor and Council, dated August 28th, 1655, exempting Jews from military service by standing guard, and imposing a special tax upon them in lieu thereof, was the subject of a special petition by Barsimson and Asser Levy, which was curtly denied by the Council in November of that year. Whether the later orders from the Directors did not have the effect of superseding this resolution also does not appear; no future reference to any such special tax can be found. One of the last of the struggles was between some of the Jewish residents and the Burgomasters, who declined to admit Jews to citizenship; upon appeal to the Governor and Council, they directed the Burgomasters to comply with the request. The petition and the order relative to it, contained in the state archives at Albany, are given below.‡

* Compare the account of D'Andrada's purchase, Daly, p. 18.

† Daly, p. 20, note 17; also p. 22, notes 18 and 19.

‡ *Dutch Records*, vol. VIII, p. 531. *Translation Dutch Records*, vol. XV, p. 140:

"To the Director General & Council in N. N. shew with all due reverence, we undersigned, of the Jewish nation here, how that one of our nation went to the court house in this city & solicited the Burgomasters, that he might obtain, as other citizens, a certificate of his citizenship, which, to our great surprise was declined by the Burgomaster and as the Directors & Council on the 15 Feb. 1655 consented to our petition that we should enjoy all the same privileges as other inhabitants of New Netherland as appears by the annexed petition, & further that our nation enjoys in the City of Amsterdam in Holland the right of citizenship & each one desiring it, obtains such a certificate, as is evident from a similar certificate here annexed—& further that our nation, as long as we resided here, did bear her share with others in every burthen of the citizens, &

Meanwhile land belonging to the Company appears to have been set aside for a Jewish cemetery.* Mr. S. W. Rosendale pointed out on a previous occasion that land was purchased by Jews in some cases to enable them to secure burgher rights.† As the regulation had been adopted about 1654 that "henceforward, traders arriving cannot trade without setting up and keeping an open store in a hired or owned house or rooms, and to ask the common or small burgher right (paying 20 guilders therefor) and have subjected themselves by subjection or promise of oath to bear their burden, expenses, expeditions and watches like other burghers and citizens,"‡ the acquisition of citizenship or the burgher right was of great importance to the Jewish settlers. As we have seen, they acquired this right in New Netherland.

paid & continue to do so till this day. So we reverently solicit, that your Hon. will not now exclude us from the rank of citizens, but rather to incline the Hon. Burgomasters that they will permit us to enjoy with other citizens their privileges, and grant to each person who might solicit that favour, a certificate of their citizenship, in conformity to the orders of the Directors mentioned before—upon which expecting your Hon. favourable apostell we shall remain, as we were before,

Your Hon. humble servants,

Salvador d'Andrada,
Jacob Cohen Henrique,
Abraham de Lucena,
Joseph D'Acosta.

"On this petition the following apostell was given: The Burgomasters of this City are authorized & at the same time commanded to admit the Remonstrants with their nation among the citizens—in debita forma—on the day as above.

P. Stuyvesant,
Nicasius de Sille,
Pieter Tonneman."

April 20, 1657.

**Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, pp. 76-7.

†"An Early Ownership of Real Estate in Albany, N. Y., by a Jewish Trader," *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, pp. 61, 62, 65.

‡"The Burghers of New Amsterdam and the Freemen of N. Y.," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections for* 1885, p. 10.

Such was the situation when the colony was conquered by the English in 1664.

Charles II in 1663 granted New York to his brother James, Duke of York, subsequently King James II; the King claimed title to the territory by reason of the discoveries of the Cabots, in spite of Dutch occupation. In 1664 a fleet under Col. Nicolls arrived there, sent by the Duke of York, and the Dutch were forced to surrender the colony. By the articles of capitulation it was provided that "All people shall still continue free denizens and enjoy their lands, houses, goods, ships wheresoever they are within this country, and dispose of them as they please . . . . The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline." The conquest and its terms were confirmed by the Treaty of Breda in 1667. The effect of these terms would seem to be to continue the legal status of the Jewish residents as of old under the new order.

Attention must here be directed to some general principles of English colonial law. It was often held that in conquered territory the laws of England did not prevail, but that the conquerors could impose whatever laws they chose upon the conquered people. Where, however, there was a formal capitulation or treaty, its terms became law, and with the old laws prevailed until new laws were substituted by the conqueror. New York was commonly treated as conquered territory in English law, due regard being had for the terms of capitulation. But there was throughout also authority for the view that New York, like the other colonial domains, was an acquisition by discovery, and as such subject to the laws of England. It will be remembered that the Duke of York claimed under title from the King based on discovery. The matter was never authoritatively adjudicated upon and determined.

Even as conquered territory, however, its laws could not stand in so far as they were inconsistent with the fundamental laws of England. Furthermore, the Act of 7 and 8 William

III, ch. 22, repealed all colonial laws inconsistent with and repugnant to the laws of England, and various English statutes were in terms from time to time made applicable to all the American colonies, while some of the grants of privileges to the colony of New York in terms made certain English laws applicable. From any point of view, then, the laws of England had an important bearing upon the status of the Jews in the newly conquered province of New York, and we will find that they were distinctly applied in several instances. It is important, then, that we glance for a few moments at the legal status of the Jews in England before the Revolution.

It is not my purpose to branch off here into an extended review of the legal status of the Jews in England during the colonial period; such a task is wholly beyond the scope of the present paper. It may be observed, however, that thus far no earnest treatment of this subject has appeared, although without it, it is impossible to understand the development of religious liberty in America as far as it is applicable to the Jews. The enactments and adjudications of the mother country were so largely binding upon the colonies, so frequently in conflict with their statutes, and so often applied in unexpected contingencies, that the history of the latter is unintelligible without the former. Mr. Lucien Wolf's very valuable studies in the history of the London Jewry make it possible to write such a paper, but it may be doubted whether any one except a trained lawyer will be able not only to pick out the isolated cases, but to distinguish clearly between decision and *obiter dicta* in the cases involving the rights of Jews in the English law reports.

For present purposes it will be sufficient to point out that it was doubtful in Cromwell's time whether the law prohibited Jews from settling in England or not, the lawyers being divided on the point; Cromwell and the rulers who followed him connived at the resettlement of Jews in England, but did not by statute authorize their settlement. Before

Cromwell's time some of the leading law books had crystallized the law, and this was done largely by lawyers of ecclesiastical antecedents, who were deeply influenced by political tests and fanatical zeal born of the Reformation. One of the chief of these was Lord Coke, who mixed law and theology in his commentaries, in laying down the principle that infidels were perpetual enemies, who had no rights whatsoever which a court of justice could enforce, and who expressly held that Jews were infidels within the meaning of this principle.* Coke's Institutes and Reports were for many years works of the most authoritative kind, and it may readily be understood that his statements were cited and followed as binding in many cases in which the line of minor cases, in which the principle was criticized or overruled, were wholly overlooked. We find that Coke's principle was invoked in England in 1673 to prevent a Jewish plaintiff from recovering a debt admitted to be due him, the defendant claiming that a perpetual enemy had no standing in a court of justice; fortunately, the Court overruled the contention.† Several times thereafter the point was urged that a Jew, being an infidel and a perpetual enemy, could not be a witness in an English court of justice; the point in England was commonly overruled, but it should be noticed that in the West Indies enabling acts were passed to make such testimony competent.‡ If the perpetual-enemy principle be applied it becomes very doubtful if even Jews born in England or in English possessions became English subjects, and scarcely a

* 4 Inst. Co. 155; 12 H. VIII, fol. 4.

† Lilly's *Prac. Register* (Second Ed.), I, p. 4.

‡ In this country various local statutes in different localities made non-Christians incompetent as witnesses. "A Jew brought an Action, and the Defendant pleaded that the Plaintiff is a Jew, and that all Jews are perpetual Enemies Regis & Religionis. Judgment si actio. Curia. A Jew may recover as well as a Villein, and the Plea is but in Disability so long as the King shall prohibit them to trade; and Judgment was given for the Plaintiff. Mich. 36, Car. 2 in B. Regis."

single common right could be claimed for a Jew under it. It is true that Lord Mansfield in 1774 interrupted counsel who were arguing a case before him, as they were about to quote this passage from Lord Coke, with the statement, "Don't quote the distinction, for the honour of Lord Coke," and declared the principle unsound and overruled, but many a judge of less ability and independence than Mansfield felt bound by Coke's authority during the many years preceding Mansfield's statement.

In fact there were other legal authorities besides Coke against the rights of the Jews. Even in the famous case of East India Company vs. Sandys (2 Shower's Repts., 371), the Jews were treated, at least by the Attorney General, as in England only under an implied license which the Crown might revoke at any time.

We find that a number of Jews were indicted in 1673 for worshipping in public in their synagogue in England; no decision was reached on the merits in this case, but the Jews secured an order from Charles II and his Council directing the Attorney General to stop all proceedings and "that they receive no further trouble in this behalf." In 1685 no less than 37 Jewish merchants were indicted for violation of statute c. 23 Eliz. by not attending church; again the Jews appear to have preferred to secure the Crown's interference in their behalf rather than fighting the case on its merits, for the King, James II, in Council directed the Attorney General to stop the proceedings.

So also as to the question of liability on the part of Jews holding letters of denization in England for Alien duties, there were series of bitter contests, won by the Jews several times during James II's reign, but decided against them in 1690.* More satisfactory is the enactment of a law by Parliament in 1723 which recognized Jews as his Majesty's

*Picciotto's *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, pp. 46–50. A number of the other incidents above referred to are quoted from this work. See also the very valuable "Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica," compiled by Joseph Jacobs and Lucien Wolf, being *Publications of the Anglo-*

subjects, and provided that in taking the oath of abjuration they might omit the words "on the true faith of a Christian." This Act implicitly recognized the fact that the Jews were lawfully sworn in English courts of justice in conformity with their religious views.

But it must be admitted that during the seventeenth century at least, and to a less degree till our Revolution, the standing of Jews before English courts of justice was very uncertain and insecure. In a measure, then, the application of English law to the conquered colony of New York threw a cloud upon the rights of the Jews. Yet the New York colonists generally, quite eagerly invoked the protection of British law, both because their rights as residents of conquered territory were so insecure and uncertain, and because England conferred greater political liberty upon her colonists than Holland was wont to do. Nicolls became the first Governor of New York, and as such, in 1665, under authority from the Duke of York, who in turn derived his authority from Charles II, he promulgated the Duke's Laws, by which many English laws were enacted for the conquered colony. One of these provided that "no person shall be molested, fined or imprisoned for differing in judgment in matters of religion, who professes Christianity." Gov. Andros, in his Instructions from the Duke of York in 1674, was ordered to "permit all persons of what Religion so ever, quietly to inhabit within ye precincts of yo^{r} jurisdiccion wthout giving y^{m} any disturbance or disquiet whatsoever, for or by reason of their differing opinion in matter of Religion: Provided they give noe disturbance to y^{e} publique peace nor doe molest or disquiet others in ye free exercise of their religion."*

Jewish Historical Exhibition, No. 3, London, 1888, particularly "Trials and Leading Cases," pp. 94–100. Compare also the very scholarly series of articles by Lucien Wolf on "Jewish Emancipation in the City," the first of which appeared in *The Jewish Chronicle* on Sept. 14th, 1894.

* *Documents relating to the Col. History of the State of New York*, vol. III, pp. 216–9, sec. 11.

In 1678, in reporting on the state of the colony, Andros in terms officially recognized the residence of Jews in the colony in the following terms: "There are Religions of all sorts, one Church of England, severall Presbyterians and Independents, Quakers and Anabaptists of several sects, some Jews, but Presbyterians and Independents most numerous and substantiall." Judge Daly has pointed out* that the grant of liberty of conscience which was found in Andros' instructions, just quoted, was not contained in Gov. Dongan's first instructions, but it was inserted in nearly the same terms in the King's instructions to Dongan in 1686 † and repeated in subsequent instructions. In 1683 the colonial Assembly adopted a Charter of Liberties and Privileges, which extended immunity from persecution to all persons "who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ"; this did not embrace the Jews, and was substantially identical with the Duke's Laws of 1665, but the form of the enactment was purely negative. It will be noticed that the local authorities almost invariably were more hostile than those in England.

In the interim between Dongan's first and second instructions two questions substantially affecting the rights of the Jews presented themselves. The first of these was the petition in 1685 by Jewish residents to Gov. Dongan, "for liberty to exercise their religion," which probably meant by means of public religious gatherings. Dongan referred the petition to the Mayor and Common Council of New York, who decided "that no public worship is tolerated by act of Assembly but to those that profess faith in Christ, and therefore the Jews' worship not to be allowed." Considering this as referring only to public worship, the decision must be conceded to be a correct exposition of the law, both from the view of a continuance of Dutch privileges and as an application of colonial legislation. A sharp distinction must be drawn

* *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, p. 26.

† *Documents*, etc., vol. III, p. 373.

between the privilege at that day to worship in private in the resident's own house and in a public house of worship. Even from the point of view of English law, this decision must be regarded as correct, although there may be room for the argument that the Orders in Council of Charles II in 1673,—in directing that the indictment of London Jews for worshiping in public in their synagogue be nolled, which included directions "that they receive no further trouble in this behalf,"—should have been applied by analogy. It is Judge Daly's view that Gov. Dongan, after receiving his second instructions, may have given this leave for public worship. We have no evidence of this fact, however, and it must be conceded that his instructions were not broad enough to authorize such permission. Mr. Dyer has shown* that the Jews were known to have had their separate meetings in New York before this, certainly as early as 1682, though there is not yet any evidence of a synagogue. These meetings doubtless continued in some secrecy after the unfavorable decision in 1685, but gradually lost their privacy. It is certain that there was a Jewish synagogue in New York by 1695, for its location in Beaver street is noted on Chaplain Miller's map of that year, while a conveyance on file among the New York City public records, dated October 30, 1700, describes certain property as bounded on the one side "by the house and ground of John Harpending, now commonly known by the name of the Jews' Synagogue," as pointed out by Mr. Dyer.

Probably, to judge by statements of La Motthe Cadillac† made in 1692, there was a synagogue then in existence in New York. The records of the Shearith Israel Congregation in New York City do not carry us back further than 1706, but it is not surprising, in view of the legal situation, that the beginnings of the congregation are enwrapped in obscurity; it had its beginnings, in all probability, as far back as 1654.

**Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, p. 47.

†*Documents*, etc., vol. IX, p. 549.

The other question which we have referred to requires no less serious attention. It was the action of the Mayor and Common Council in the same year, 1685, on a petition addressed by Saul Brown to Gov. Dongan, in which the former complained that he had been interfered with in his trade under an existing municipal regulation, and which the Governor referred to the Council. They declared in answer thereto that no Jew could sell by retail in the city, but might by wholesale, if the Governor thought fit to permit it.* Judge Daly, in commenting upon this, remarks (p. 25): "There was a previous regulation that none but burghers or freemen could sell by retail, and this was equivalent to holding that no Jew could become a burgher or freeman of the city. The privilege to sell by wholesale, however, must have been conceded to Brown, for he was for many years afterwards a prominent merchant." Examining this declaration more closely, it will be noticed that it merely was to the effect that no Jews could sell by retail; it is simply the inference of the commentator that they could not become burghers or freemen, and this appears to have been in conflict with the actual practice and the fact. It might even be urged that Brown appears to have been a new arrival, so that it is doubtful if he shared the citizen rights, such as they were, of some of his co-religionists residing in the city; in that view of the case the declaration was merely to the effect that persons not burghers or freemen could not sell by retail. Disregarding this construction, however, as probably too limited, we naturally feel inclined to search for such an ordinance prohibiting Jews from engaging in retail trade. I am unable to find any reference to such prohibition in the English period, and deem it likely that resort was had to the concessions obtained by the Jews in the Dutch period which had this limitation. It is probable that a Dutch rather than an English law was here enforced, for the further reason that there

*Dunlop's *History*, vol. II, App. cxxxiv; Booth's *History of N. Y.*, p. 198; 2 Brodhead's *History*, p. 426.

seems to be no indication of any such prohibition of retail trading in the history of the Jews in England or in other English colonies.

This decision, then, raises the question whether it was not an error to enforce an old Dutch custom at this period, and furthermore, whether the burgher and other rights acquired by the Jews under Dutch law, continued by the terms of the capitulation and the treaty and also under the colonial enactments, had not superseded the old Dutch enactment. From these points of view the decision seems to me to have been erroneous. It should be remembered that this decision probably was largely influential in inducing the New York Jews to engage in foreign trade, for which they were peculiarly well qualified and in which they were so successful. Furthermore, as it was enacted in 1683 that "all that Inhabite up Hudson River were forbid to trade over sea," * the Jews and all others active in foreign trade in the province were naturally bound to reside at New York City.

This prohibition against retail trade appears to have been gradually dropped, for we find Jews engaged in retail trade in numerous instances in the eighteenth century in New York. In fact, as far as civil as distinguished from political rights were concerned, the Jews in practice appear to have been on a footing of equality with those of other creeds in New York throughout the eighteenth century; it must be admitted, however, that their legal status was not as satisfactory as were the rights practice accorded to them prior to the Revolution.

One instance, however, in which their rights were successfully challenged demands consideration, but this case appears to have been a hasty and incorrect adjudication, as well as markedly exceptional. It is nearly correct to state that after the Restoration the Jews enjoyed substantially full civil rights in England and in New York. In this connection it is

* *Documents*, etc., vol. III, p. 337.

interesting to observe that William Penn, in a tract published in London in 1686, entitled "A Persuasive to Moderation," advocating toleration for the Quakers, should have used the following language: "And which is closest to our point, at home itself we see that a toleration of the Jews, French and Dutch, in England, all dissenters from the national way; and the connivance that has been in Ireland; and the downright toleration in most of the king's plantations abroad, prove the assertion, 'that toleration is not dangerous to monarchy.' For experience tells us, where it is in any degree admitted, the king's affairs prosper most, people, wealth and strength being sure to follow such indulgence." *

But to take up the exceptional incident just alluded to. As is well known, the General Assembly of New York, in the course of an election contest for membership, on September 23, 1737, adopted the following resolution: "That it not appearing to this House, that Persons of the Jewish Religion have a Right to be admitted to vote for Parliament Men, in Great Britain, it is the Unanimous Opinion of this House, that they ought not to be admitted to vote for Representatives in this Colony." † If the same test had been applied to other voters it would have been necessary to hold that many other voters should have been barred, for it is well known that in the English colonies there was a much closer approximation to manhood suffrage than prevailed at that time in England. Furthermore, the whole matter was regulated by colonial statutes and special grants, and there was no reason for departing from these to apply English standards instead. As we will find presently, there were a number of Jewish citizens in the colony of New York at this time, when England did not confer similar rights. But this involves a question of political rather than civil status. Much more serious was a decision reached in the same contest the day before

* *Select Works of Wm. Penn*, in 5 volumes, 3rd ed., London, 1782, vol. IV, p. 338.

† *Journal of the General Assembly of N. Y.* 1691-1743, vol. I, p. 712.

by the same body, to the effect "that it was the Opinion of the House that none of the Jewish Profession could be admitted in Evidence, in the Controversy now depending." There were no special rules of evidence applicable to such controversies, so that it appears to have been virtually held that none of the Jewish profession could be admitted as witnesses. This was wholly erroneous and an instance of flagrant bigotry. It was entirely at variance with the practice in the Dutch period, when Jews repeatedly testified as witnesses, and they did so repeatedly also in practice throughout the English colonial period. In itself, a holding that Jews could not testify was subjecting them to most serious dangers and disabilities. As we have seen, the contrary had been held repeatedly in England, and was recognized by English statute, although a special statute was deemed necessary in the West Indies to vest them with such right. If such right was denied them, none could be certain that the courts would protect him in any of his civil rights. From every point of view this decision was erroneous. It should be remembered that it was reached hastily, apparently without consideration, and at the instance of Smith, an astute and rather unscrupulous colonial lawyer, who had no able antagonist espousing the opposite view to contend with, and apparently without having any one representing the Jewish voters, and familiar with the authorities sustaining their rights, participating. William H. Seward has written about this proceeding: "Yet the record contains one spot which the friends of rational liberty would wish to see effaced. On a question concerning a contested seat, the Assembly resolved that Jews could neither vote for representatives nor be admitted as witnesses."

There is another branch of the subject which for convenience of treatment has been reserved till the end of this paper—the history of naturalization of the Jews in the English colony of New York, and the acquisition of burgher rights by the Jews in said colony. This is a most important

line of inquiry. In those days trade was not free as to-day, and an alien could not settle here and take up any trade or pursuit at once *ad libitum*. The alien had to acquire some legal status, either by means of letters of denization or the like or by naturalization. As New York was an English colonial dependency, naturalization or denization under English authorization was requisite for certain purposes, particularly under the Navigation Acts. To make these rights, for limited purposes at least, more readily obtainable, denization and naturalization under colonial authority also grew up. But both alien and newly arrived British subject had to acquire burgher rights (rights of freemen) in the city of New York in order to become entitled to engage in certain trades within city limits, and these rights were quite independent of the political right of suffrage, for instance. Let us glance, then, at the history of the Jews in New York in their relation to these burgher rights and to naturalization.

Already in 1665, in Col. Nicoll's grants, it was ordained that "none were to bee esteemed freemen of this city, but who were admitted by the Magistrates aforesaid, and none before such admission (were) to sell by Retayle or Exercise any handicraft, trade or occupacon, and every merchant or shopkeeper was to pay for the publique use of the Citty three pounds twelve shillings, every handy craft's man one pound four shillings on being made free." This was confirmed by Dongan on November 9, 1683.* In 1675–6 it was enacted that "No one shall sell or cause to be sold or put to sale any Goods, wares and Merchandizes by Retaile upon paine to forfeit all such goods etc. unless Freemen or made Free or Burghers of this Citty, and settled housekeepers for the space of one yeare or given security for the same. Unless by speciall License from the Mayor and Aldermen with the approbacon of the Governor."† Again, in the

* *Documents*, vol. III, p. 337.

† "The Burghers of New Amsterdam and the Freemen of N. Y.," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections for* 1885, p. 40.

Dongan Charter of 1686 it was provided that "none were to be made freemen, but his Majesty's natural born subjects, or such as shall first be naturalized by Act of General Assembly or shall have obtained Letters of Denization from the Lieutenant Governor." * It will be noticed that the matter of acquisition of burgher rights or rights of freemen was independent of naturalization. In the book just quoted we find the following Jews enumerated among the freemen, with the year of their acquisition of such rights :

Page.			
54	1687–8	Jan. 25	Isaac Henriquez
		April 27	Simon Bonan
55	1691	Aug. 17	Joshua David, Sr.
57	1695	June 5	Joshua David, Jr.
			Moses Levy
60	1696–7	Sept. 17	Isaac Rodrigues Marques
65	1698	Aug. 23	Joseph Isaacs, Butcher
87	1705	Dec. 4	Isaac Napthaly, Merchant
	1705–6	Feb. 12	Lewis Gomez, "
88	1708	July 6	Abraham De Lucena "
90	1710–11	Aug. 21	Jacob Franks "
91	1711–12	Nov. 11	Rodrigo Pacheco "
92	1713–14	June 22	Moses Hart "
93	1714–15	June 7	Mordechai Gomez "
95	1715–16	Jan. 10	Baruch Judah "
		Feb. 23	Abraham Pereira, Tallow Chandler
			Judah Morris, Merchant
103	1722–3	Aug. 6	Abraham Isaacks, "
104	1723–4	May 12	Solomon Myers, Shopkeeper
107	1725–6	June 7	Jacob Hays, Merchant
108	1726	July 19	Abraham Rodrigues Rivera, Merchant
110	1727	Nov. 21	Daniel Gomez, Merchant

* "The Burghers of New Amsterdam and the Freemen of N. Y.," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections for* 1885, pp. 48–49.

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114	1730	Oct. 6	Samuel Myers, Shopkeeper
128	1735	Sept. 16	David Hays, Merchant
129	1735	Dec. 2	Judah Hays, "
135	1737–8	Jan. 10	Abraham Myers Cohen, Shopkeeper
139	1739	July 10	Aaron Machado, Distiller
142	1740	Nov. 18	Isaac Levy, Shopkeeper
143	1741	July 23	Moses Lopez, Merchant
145	1742	Nov. 2	Solomon Hayes, "
146	1742–3	Feb. 1	Joseph Simson, Shopkeeper
147	1743	June 21	Abraham Pinto, Chandler
148	1743	Oct. 4	Levy Samuel, Merchant
161	1747–8	May 4	Isaac Hays, Tallow Chandler
164	1748	Nov. 1	Simon Franks, Peruke-maker
169	1750	May 29	Abraham Lyon (a Jew), Baker
171	1750	Dec. 20	Haman Levy, Merchant
174	1751	July 16	Moses Benjamin Franks, Taylor
177	1752	Nov. 7	Joseph Levy
178	1753	July 17	Abraham Sazadas, Merchant
183	1755	Sept. 30	Asher Myers, Brazier
186	1757	Jan. 4	Emanuel Abrahams, Distiller and Tobacconist
193	1759	July 3	Manuel Myers, Shopkeeper
			Samuel De Lucena "
213	1766	Oct. 22	Isaac Moses, Cordwainer
216	1768	Aug. 3	Barrack Hays, Vendue Master
			Moses Judah, Merchant
225	1769	Feb. 8	Benjamin Seixas, Sadler
			Benjamin Etting, Goldsmith
		Feb 9	Samuel Judah, Merchant
226	1769	Feb. 28	Jonas Philipse, Retailer
227	1769	Sept. 5	Moses Michael Hays, Watch-maker

There are 52 names on this list, 25 covering the period between 1740 and 1769. Comparing the list with that of New York Jews naturalized under the British Act of 1740, who are enumerated in Dr. J. H. Hollander's valuable paper on "The Naturalization of Jews in the American Colonies under the Act of 1740," we find the names of the following on the latter list, not included in the former: June 1, 1740, to June 1, 1741: David Gomez, Jacob Ferro, Solomon Bares, David Huy, Daniel Rodrigues Vinera, Solomon Hart, Jr; 1741: Isaac Nunes Henriques and Abraham De Leas; 1743: Moses Levy, Jew, and 1746, Jacob Rodrigues Revera, Jew, who apparently were not engaged in pursuits requiring them to become freemen.

We have seen that only persons who were natural born subjects, or had become naturalized, or received letters of denization, could become freemen. Much interesting information upon the principles of law applicable to naturalization and denization is contained in Dr. J. H. Hollander's paper on "The Civil Status of the Jews in Maryland, 1634–1776," in No. 2 of our *Publications*. It must be admitted, however, that certain fundamental principles underlying the relations between England and her colonies, and limiting the powers of the latter, modify in some degree the results there reached.* At the threshold, the question confronts us whether the Colonial Assemblies had any power to enact local naturalization laws, and whether these were not in any event superseded by the English Act of 1740. In fact, however, neither Parliament by means of special acts of naturaliza-

* Compare the cases of the Post nati, 2 Howard's State Trials, 559–696, and Campbell vs. Hall, 20 How. St. Trials; *Naturalization in the American Colonies*, by Joseph Willard, Boston, 1859; "Naturalization in the English Colonies of America," by Miss Cora Start, *Am. Hist. Assn. Repts.* 1893, pp. 317–338; Chalmers' *Colonial Opinions*; Forsyth's *Cases and Opinions on Constitutional Law*; Story's *Commentaries on the Constitution*, vol. I, and "Appeals from Colonial Courts to the King in Council, with especial reference to Rhode Island," by H. D. Hazeltine, *Am. Hist. Assn. Rept.* 1894, pp. 299–350.

tion, nor the King by means of letters of denization, appear to have removed any disabilities of aliens residing in the American colonies, excepting the West Indies, prior to the enactment of the general law of 1740. Meanwhile, in the various colonies, particularly in New York, general acts of naturalization, special acts, letters of denization from the Governor, and licenses to trade and traffic from him, were secured.

In New York we find that by the capitulation of the city in 1664 all residents were continued as free denizens. In 1683 the Colonial Assembly passed a general naturalization act, but it was limited to those professing Christianity.* In 1715 another colonial act was passed which authorized the naturalization of foreign Protestants only, but in another section all persons then alive who had inhabited the colony before Nov. 1, 1683, were to be deemed to have been naturalized; this necessarily included a number of Jews.† After the act of 1683 was passed we find the Governors granting letters of denization to a number of Jews, the originals of which letters are still to be found in the state archives at Albany. Some granted to Joseph Bueno, Abraham Desosa-mendes, and Asher Michells de Paul, in 1683, were rather in the form of licenses to "trade and traffique" in the City of New York than letters of denization, strictly speaking. Similar letters were granted to David Brown in 1684; to Isaack de Costa, July 29, 1686; to Moses Aboab, June 25, 1684. Formal letters of denization were granted by Gov. Dongan to Isaac de Costa in 1686, as also to Joseph Browne. We also find that licenses to trade and traffic in Ulster County were granted to Joseph Brown and to Isaac Gabey in 1686.

The right to grant letters of denization was expressly taken away from the Governor in 1699, although he was very unwilling to give up the privilege, as it had been the source of considerable profit to him.‡ The Governor appears never-

* Daly, p. 24. † *Ibidem*, p. 49, note.

‡ *Doc.*, vol. IV, pp. 520–1, 600, 686, 757, 845, 887.

theless to have assumed the power even thereafter to grant individual letters, supposed to be valid only for the particular colony.* In 1723 an act was passed by the colonial legislature naturalizing Abraham Isaacs, David Elias, Jacob Hays, Joseph Simson, Isaac Rodrigues and Solomon Myers, among others. On November 15, 1727, a general act was passed by the New York colonial legislature providing that when the oath of abjuration was to be taken by any one of his Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion, the words "upon the true faith of a Christian" might be omitted. Three days later Daniel Nunez da Costa was naturalized by special act. A few years later, in 1740, Parliament passed the well known Naturalization Act of 1740, with its special provisions for Jewish citizens. This act was reprinted in No. 1 of our *Publications*, and was very fully treated in the paper by Dr. Hollander already referred to, in which the names of Jews naturalized under it are given. On a former occasion I pointed out that the Navigation Act made it unlawful for aliens to engage in foreign trade in the colonies, which provision bore heavily upon the Jews. In a case referred to in this earlier paper,† attention was also called to the fact that the Council for Plantations in 1672 reversed the Jamaica Admiralty Court's decree of forfeiture against Rabba Couty, and held that one who possessed burgher rights in New York might lawfully trade under the Navigation Act in Jamaica.‡

* *Doc.*, vol. VII, p. 469; vol. VIII, p. 564.

† "Jewish Activity in our Colonial Commerce," *American Hebrew*, March 13, 1896.

‡ In Dr. Herbert Friedenwald's valuable paper on "Material for the History of the Jews in the West Indies," in No. 5 of our *Publications*, many additional data of interest are collected. These include several petitions which show that the Navigation Act was regarded at the time as preventing Jews not endenizened or naturalized, from trading in the colonies, as suggested herein (pp. 49, 63–4, 69–70, 73–76). Of course they also show that the English government was liberal in removing these disabilities by granting letters of denization, etc. Dr. Friedenwald also furnishes all the original documents in the case of Rabba Couty. From these it

This decision is at variance with numerous other authorities and appears not to have been followed after the enactment of the law of 1740. It became the general view that colonial naturalization or denization could not confer any rights outside of the colony, and only partial rights within it. It was doubtless for this reason that Abraham Isaacs, Joseph Simson and Solomon Myers, after having been naturalized by special colonial act in 1723, also secured naturalization in 1740 under the Act of Parliament. In some colonies naturalization continued to go on under colonial acts, some of which exacted no such long period of residence, but their validity thereafter is more than doubtful, and we find that royal instructions were issued to the Governors against approving any colonial acts of naturalization in 1773.* In some colonies, even the Act of 1740 was never regarded as in force.

Thus prior to the Revolution the Jews in New York enjoyed in practice full civil rights; their legal status was less satisfactory, however, and various political rights were withheld from them. By the first Constitution of the State of New York, adopted in 1777, they were put on an absolute equality with all other subjects, that State having been the leader in actually granting full religious liberty.

seems clear that he became a free burgher of New York prior to 1671 (pp. 76–7, 80, 85). As his name does not appear on the list of "The Burghers of New Amsterdam and the Freemen of New York" (supra), we are bound to conclude that this list, contrary to expectations, is not complete. Dr. Friedenwald's statement that "his (Couty's) is probably the first instance of the admission of a Jew to full burgher's rights in New York, and perhaps in the whole of the colonies" (p. 54), is obviously erroneous, as is shown by earlier cases herein referred to. The Couty case is also interesting as showing that the New York Governors granted licenses to traffic in British vessels in the West Indies (pp. 52, 76–7).

* *Documents*, etc., vol. VIII, p. 402.

THE OLDEST TOMBSTONE-INSCRIPTIONS OF PHILADELPHIA AND RICHMOND.

By George Alexander Kohut, *New York.*

Prof. Dr. David Kaufmann, the erudite Jewish historian of Budapest, who has made the inscriptions of almost every ancient Hebrew cemetery in Europe a special study, once wrote, in his introduction to S. Hock's *Familien Prags*, that there is nothing more important to the future historian than the material collected from the facts and data recorded in the "cities of the dead." Wherever there are graveyards, said he, copies ought to be made of the inscriptions before time effaces those marks which are of such value to the chronicler.

Recognizing this necessity ere it be too late, the writer copied the inscriptions from the Jewish cemeteries in Charleston, Savannah, Pennsylvania, Richmond and New York, many of which are, however, too fragmentary and obscure to bear publication at present. In submitting to the readers of the *Publications* these copies of the tombstone-inscriptions in the Jewish cemeteries of Richmond and Philadelphia, we beg to state that owing to typographical reasons the Hebrew portions had to be omitted. The 67 inscriptions here collected are chronologically arranged, and serve to supplement the notes of Mr. Jacob Ezekiel in No. 4 of the *Publications*, and Mr. Henry S. Morais's work on the *Jews of Philadelphia*, to both of which sources the reader is referred for further particulars regarding the persons mentioned.

a) Philadelphia (1753–1848).

1. Beneath this stone are deposited the
remains of
Nathan Levy
late merchant of this city
who departed this life
December 23, 1753
aged 49 years & 10 months.

2. Henry, Jacob: died 20 March, 1761, aged 32 years. (Bachelor.)
3. Gomez, Daniel: died ———, 5540 (28th day of ———, 1780). (Formerly of New York.)
4. Gomez, Mattathias: died ———, 5541 (March, 1781). (Formerly of New York.)
5. Judah, Samuel: died 19 Oct., 1781.
6. Judah, Jacob-Samuel: died 20 June, 1783 (———, 5513).
7. Marks, Miriam: died 20 Nissan, 5544 (11 April, 1784). Daughter of Henry and Sarah Marks.
8. Marks, Sarah: died 18 Sivan, 5544 (7 June, 1784). Mother of above.
9. Levy, Abraham: died 7 Aug., 1786.
10. Goldsmith, Sarah: died ———, 1792.
11. Josephson, Manuel: died 30 Feb., 1796, aged 67 years.
12. Josephson, Rachel: died 12 Feb., 1797, aged 65 years. Wife of Manuel Josephson.
13. Barnett, Nathan: died Ellul, 5557 (1797).
14. Lacosta, Rachael Rodriguez: died 15 Jan., 1803, aged 58 years.
15. Gratz, Miriam: died 12 Sept., 1808, aged 58 years, 8 months, 22 days. Wife of Michael Gratz.
16. Pereyra, Ribcah R.: born in Cadiz, 15 Nissan, 5521 (17 April, 1760); died 27 Kislev, 5570 (December, 1809). *Inscription in Spanish.*
17. Pesoa, Isaac: died 25 Kislev, ——— (3 Dec., 1809).

18. Jacobs, Israel: died 27 Adar, 5570 (3 March, 1810), aged 96 years.
19. Levy, Jacob (bar Nachman): died 5 Sivan, 5571 (1811).
20. Nathans, Henrietta: died 8 Feb., 1811. Wife of Abr. Nathans, daughter of Isaac Russell of Savannah, Ga.
21. Gratz, Michael: died 8 Sept., 1811, aged 74 years.
22. Allen, Lewis: died 5 Nov., 1811. Pres't of Congregation Mikvé Israel, aged 49.
23. Hart, Hyman Marks: died 19 January, 1812.
24. Bravo, Jacob M.: died 17 Iyar, 5572 (29 April, 1812). Late of Kingston, Jamaica, aged 55 years.
25. Jacob, Isabella: died 10 Oct., 1814. Wife of Nunes Jacob.
26. Nathans, Moses: died Adar Rishon, 5575 (24 Feb., 1815), aged 68 years.
27. Hyneman, Elias: died 11 July, 1815, aged 80 years.
28. Cohen, Rebecca (widow): died 1 Heshvan, 5575 (10 Oct., 1815), aged 71 years.
29. Rodriguez, Isaac: died 16 Heshvan, 5575 (7 Nov., 1815).
30. Israel, Rabbi Eleazar Joseph: died 5577 (1817). Scribe of Amsterdam, Holland.
31. Israel, Isaac Eleazar: died 5577 (1817).
32. Gratz, Sarah: died 20 Feb., 1817, aged 36 years and 7 months.
33. Carvalho, Rev. Emanuel Nunes: died March 20th, 1817.
34. Israel, Rebecca E.: died 28 July, 1818 (24 Tammuz, 5578). Wife of Ezekiel Jacob Ezekiel.
35. Derkheim, Myer: died 2 Aug., 1818, aged 70 years. *P. T. H. M.* [Peace to his memory!]
36. Stork, Bella: died 1819. Wife of Hartog Stork.
37. Marx, Henrietta: died 1 Aug., 1819, aged 73 years.
38. Phillips, Henry L.: died 9 April, 1820.
39. Hart, Abraham: died 12 Aug., 1820.
40. Bensaken [=? בן זקן], Samuel: died ———, 5582 (1821). A native of Great Britain.

41. Cohen, Rachel L.: died 6 Heshvan, 5582 (1 Nov., 1821). Wife of Jacob I. Cohen.
42. Gratz, Rachel: born 25 June, 1783; died 29 Sept., 1823. Wife of Solomon Moses.
43. Cohen, Jacob I.: died ———, 5584 (1824).
44. Andrews, Joseph: died 9 Heshvan, 5585 (31 October, 1824).
45. King, Isaac: died 15 Heshvan, 5585 (6 Nov., 1824).
46. Lang, Fannie: died 15 Nissan, 5585 (15 April, 1825).
47. Marks, Hyman: died 22 Heshvan, 5585 (5 Nov., 1825).
48. Derkheim, Sarah: died 9 Sept., 1825, aged 71 years.
49. Hays, Miriam Gratz: born 4 July, 1798; died 3 July, 1826.
50. Keys, Rev. Abr. Israel: died 18 October, 1828 (12 Heshvan, 5589). Reader of ק"ק מקוה ישראל
51. Ezekiel, Ezekiel Jacob: died 4 Jan., 1831 (19 Tebeth, 5591).
52. Phillips, Rebecca: born in New York, 17 Nov., 1746; died in Philadelphia, 21 June, 1831. Daughter of Rev. David Mendez Machado and relict of Jonas Phillips.
53. Levy, Sarah: died 5 Sivan, 5592 (1832).
54. Cohen, Michael E.: died Dec. 15, 1835.
55. Phillips, Zalegman: born 28 June, 1779; died 11 Ellul, 5599 (21 Aug., 1839).
56. Etting, Reuben; born in York, Pa., 6 June, 1762: died in Philadelphia, 3 June, 1848.
57. Basan, Jacob. (Undecipherable.)
58. Jacobs, John. (Undecipherable.)

b) Richmond (1796–1824).

1. Sacred | to the Memory of | Mrs. Judith, wife of Jacob Mordeccai, | who was summoned hence, to receive the | recompense of the Good, | on the 9th of January, 1796 | aged 33 years.

2. Sacred | to the Memory of | Catarine JACOBS | who departed this life March 25, 1815 | aged 83 years.
3. Sacred | to the Memory of Lazarus JOSEPH, | a native of Germany, and long a resident in this city, | died on the 22nd November, 1817 | aged 54 years. | This Tablet is inscribed to his memory by | a disconsolate widow whom he loved | and by sons who know his | Parental Worth.
4. In Memory of | Abigail JUDAH | who was born November 17, 1742 | and departed this life on the 11th of Elul, 5579 | corresponding with the 1st of September, 1819. | May her soul repose in Peace. | Amen.
5. Here lie the Remains of | Benjamin WOLFE | who departed this life | on the 2nd day of January, 1818 | aged 50 years. | This small tribute is inscribed | to his memory by his disconsolate widow.
6. Ella MARX | Daughter of | Joseph Marx | died March, 1819 | aged 5 years.
7. Here repose | the Mortal Remains of | Mrs. Frances MARX, | Widow of Dr. M. J. Marx, of Hanover, in Germany. | After an | Irreproachable and Useful Life | she was called | to the Abode of the Blessed | (July 8th, 1819) at the age of 69 years.
8. In Memory of | Jacob KING | who departed this life | October 22nd, 1824 | Aged 50 years.
9. In | Memory of | Mrs. Joyce MYERS | who departed this life | 23rd Tamus [*sic*] 5584 | 19th July, 1824 | aged 87 years.

A LITERARY AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MORDECAI MANUEL NOAH.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

By George Alexander Kohut, *New York.*

Strangely enough, none of the biographers of this eminent Jew and patriot had any knowledge of the existence of the only autobiographical sketch ever published in reference to his literary and dramatic activity. While the accounts lately given in the second edition of Judge Daly's *Settlement of the Jews in North America* (New York, 1893) and in the Hon. Simon Wolf's pamphlet, *Mordecai Manuel Noah: a Biographical Sketch* (Philadelphia, 1897, 49 pp.) are sufficiently complete and highly interesting, still in many respects the subjoined letter, written just 65 years ago, is a welcome contribution to the history of Noah's eventful career as playwright and dramatist. The letter is taken from William Dunlap's *A History of the American Theatre* (New York, 1832), pp. 380–384, a work not unimportant for American history. Beside Noah's letter this work contains several references to Jews which we mention in passing.

On page 45 we read: "On the east side [of] the city .... at a small distance from the shore, by a steep bank on which was walled in a cemetery, called the Jews' burying ground." This cemetery is spoken of in the context in the year 1776.*

Mention is made, on p. 128, of Mr. and Mrs. Solomon, probably Jews, who are spoken of as "the first profes-

* See the deed in reference to the Jewish Cemetery in New York, published in *Menorah Monthly*, vol. XIII, No. 1, July, 1892, and the account of "Very Ancient Jewish Graves" in the *New York Herald* of August 11, 1895, where M. M. Noah's tombstone is photographed and described.

sional actors who performed plays in Boston." One of the plays produced by them bears the name of "Douglas and the poor soldier." It was put on the stage on September 26, 1792.

In an appendix to Dunlap's book is given a "Catalogue of American plays and their authors," from which (pp. 409–10) we extract the following:

Harby, Isaac.—Alberti; tragedy, in five acts, acted in Charleston, 1818. The Gordian Knot; a tragedy. The author of this tragedy died in New York much regretted.

Judah, Samuel B.—A Tale of Lexington; acted in New York. The Mountain Torrent; acted in New York. The Rose of Arragon. Odofriede.

Noah, M. M.—The Fortress of Sorrento. The Grecian Captive. The Grand Canal. Marion, or the Hero of Lake George. O Yes, or the New Constitution. She would be a Soldier. The Siege of Yorktown.* Paul and Alexis. Yesef Caramatti. All acted with great success.

Phillips, J. D.—The Female Spy; acted in New York, 1828. Paul Clifford. Beauty and Booty.

Whether the last named is a Jew is doubtful.

How Mr. Noah came to write this autobiography we learn from the author's introductory lines on p. 375, which run as follows:

"In answer to queries made by us we have received two letters from two distinguished dramatists,† written with such frankness, and in a style so congenial to the feelings intended to be expressed in this work, that we know no mode of communicating the information they contain that

* "The Siege of Yorktown" is not given in the list enumerated by Mr. Noah himself, but the "Siege of Tripoli" is there mentioned. See below, and Wolf's sketch, p. 19. Are the two plays identical?

† The other is James N. Barker, Esq., of Philadelphia, whose letter is published on pp. 376–380.

will be so acceptable to the reader as by giving them in the words of the writers.

"The plays of these gentlemen are an honour to the dramatic literature of the country, and we feel that the brief and pleasant sketch given by the authors will induce those who have not before met with such as are published, to lose no time in becoming acquainted with them by perusal.

"Both these dramatists are honourably employed in the civil service of their country, and we hope will be protected in the evening of life from those ills which some of their brethren have to encounter, who have not taken the tide of fortune at its flood, or, perhaps, merited public confidence.

"Mr. Noah's answer to our inquiries bears the same character with that received from Mr. Barker, and we insert it without alterations, for the reason assigned in respect to the letter of his brother dramatist" (p. 380).

The letter itself forms very interesting reading, besides being an important contribution to the history of the American stage.

M. M. NOAH'S LETTER.

"*To William Dunlap, Esq.*

"New-York, July 11th, 1832.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am happy to hear that your work on the American Drama is in press, and trust that you may realize from it that harvest of fame and money to which your untiring industry and diversified labours give you an eminent claim. You desire me to furnish you a list of my dramatic productions; it will, my dear sir, constitute a sorry link in the chain of American writers—my plays have all been *ad captandum:* a kind of *amateur* performance, with no claim to the character of a settled, regular, or domiciliated writer for the greenroom—a sort of volunteer supernumerary—a dramatic writer by 'particular desire, and for this night

only,' as they say in the bills of the play; my 'line,' as you well know, has been in the more rugged paths of politics, a line in which there is more fact than poetry, more feeling than fiction; in which, to be sure, there are 'exits and entrances'—where the 'prompter's whistle' is constantly heard in the voice of the people; but which, in our popular government, almost disqualifies us for the more soft and agreeable translation to the lofty conceptions of tragedy, the pure diction of genteel comedy, or the wit, gayety, and humour of broad farce.

"I had an early hankering for the national drama, a kind of juvenile patriotism, which burst forth, for the first time, in a few sorry doggrels in the form of a prologue to a play, which a Thespian company, of which I was a member, produced in the South-street theatre—the old American theatre in Philadelphia. The idea was probably suggested by the sign of the Federal Convention at the tavern opposite the theatre. You, no doubt, remember the picture and the motto: an excellent piece of painting of the kind, representing a group of venerable personages engaged in public discussions, with the following distich:

> 'These thirty-eight great men have signed a powerful deed,
> That better times, to us, shall very soon succeed.'

"The sign must have been painted soon after the adoption of the federal constitution, and I remember to have stood 'many a time and oft,' gazing, when a boy, at the assembled patriots, particularly the venerable head and spectacles of Dr. Franklin, always in conspicuous relief. In our Thespian corps, the honour of cutting the plays, substituting new passages, casting parts, and writing couplets at the exits, was divided between myself and a fellow of infinite wit and humour, by the name of Helmbold; who subsequently became the editor of a scandalous little paper, called the *Tickler:* he was a rare rascal, perpetrated all kind of calumnies, was constantly mulcted in fines, sometimes imprisoned,

was full of faults, which were forgotten in his conversational qualities and dry sallies of genuine wit, particularly his Dutch stories. After years of singular vicissitudes, Helmbold joined the army as a common soldier, fought bravely during the late war, obtained a commission, and died. Our little company soon dwindled away; the expenses were too heavy for our pockets; our writings and performances were sufficiently wretched, but as the audience was admitted without cost, they were too polite to express any disapprobation. We recorded all our doings in a little weekly paper, published, I believe, by Jemmy Riddle, at the corner of Chestnut and Third street, opposite the tavern kept by that sturdy old democrat, Israel Israel.

"From a boy, I was a regular attendant at the Chestnut street theatre, during the management of Wignell and Reinagle, and made great efforts to compass the purchase of a season ticket, which I obtained generally of the treasurer, George Davis, for $18. Our habits through life are frequently governed and directed by our early steps. I seldom missed a night; and always retired to bed, after witnessing a good play, gratified and improved; and thus, probably, escaped the haunts of taverns, and the pursuits of depraved pleasures, which too frequently allure and destroy our young men; hence I was always the firm friend of the drama, and had an undoubted right to oppose my example through life to the horror and hostility expressed by sectarians to plays and playhouses generally. Independent of several of your plays which had obtained possession of the stage, and were duly incorporated in the legitimate drama, the first call to support the productions of a fellow-townsman, was, I think, Barker's opera of the "Indian Princess." Charles Ingersoll had previously written a tragedy, a very able production for a very young man, which was supported by all the 'good society'; but Barker, who was 'one of us,' an amiable and intelligent young fellow, who owed nothing to hereditary rank, though his father was a whig, and a soldier of the

revolution, was in reality a fine spirited poet, a patriotic ode writer, and finally a gallant soldier of the late war. The managers gave Barker an excellent chance with all his plays, and he had merit and popularity to give them in return full houses.

"About this time, I ventured to attempt a little melodrame, under the title of the *Fortress of Sorrento*, which, not having money enough to pay for printing, nor sufficient influence to have acted, I thrust the manuscript in my pocket, and having occasion to visit New York, I called in at David Longworth's Dramatic Repository one day, spoke of the little piece, and struck a bargain with him, by giving him the manuscript in return for a copy of every play he had published, which at once furnished me with a tolerably large dramatic collection. I believe the play never was performed, and I was almost ashamed to own it; but it was my first regular attempt at dramatic composition.

"In the year 1812, while in Charleston, S. C., Mr. Young requested me to write a piece for his wife's benefit. You remember her, no doubt; remarkable as she was for her personal beauty and amiable deportment, it would have been very ungallant to have refused, particularly as he requested that it should be a '*breeches part*,' to use a green-room term, though she was equally attractive in every character. Poor Mrs. Young! she died last year in Philadelphia. When she first arrived in New York, from London, it was difficult to conceive a more perfect beauty; her complexion was of dazzling whiteness, her golden hair and ruddy complexion, figure somewhat *embonpoint*, and graceful carriage, made her a great favorite. I soon produced the little piece, which was called *Paul and Alexis, or the Orphans of the Rhine*. I was, at that period, a very active politician, and my political opponents did me the honour to go to the theatre the night it was performed, for the purpose of hissing it, which was not attempted until the curtain fell, and the piece was successful. After three years' absence in Europe and

Africa, I saw the same piece performed at the Park, under the title of the *Wandering Boys*, which even now holds possession of the stage. It seems Mr. Young sent the manuscript to London, where the title was changed, and the bantling cut up, altered, and considerably improved.

"About this time, John Miller, the American bookseller in London, paid us a visit. Among the passengers in the same ship was a fine English girl of great talent and promise, Miss Leesugg, afterwards Mrs. Hackett. She was engaged at the Park as a singer, and Phillips, who was here about the same period fulfilling a most successful engagement, was decided and unqualified in his admiration of her talent. Every one took an interest in her success; she was gay, kind hearted, and popular, always in excellent spirits, and always perfect. Anxious for her success, I ventured to write a play for her benefit, and in three days finished the patriotic piece of *She would be a Soldier, or the Battle of Chippewa*, which, I was happy to find, produced her an excellent house. Mrs. Hackett retired from the stage after her marriage, and lost six or seven years of profitable and unrivalled engagement.

"After this play, I became in a manner domiciliated in the greenroom. My friends, Price and Simpson, who had always been exceedingly kind and liberal, allowed me to stray about the premises like one of the family, and always anxious for their success, I ventured upon another attempt for a holiday occasion, and produced *Marion, or the Hero of Lake George*. It was played on the 25th of November—Evacuation day, and I bustled about among my military friends, to raise a party in support of a military play, and what with generals, staff-officers, rank and file, the Park theatre was so crammed, that not a word of the play was heard, which was a very fortunate affair for the author. The managers presented me with a pair of handsome silver pitchers, which I still retain as a memento of their good will and friendly consideration. You must bear in mind that

while I was thus employed in occasional attempts at play-writing, I was engaged in editing a daily journal, and in all the fierce contests of political strife; I had, therefore, but little time to devote to all that study and reflection so essential to the success of dramatic composition.

"My next piece, I believe, was written for the benefit of a relative and friend, who wanted something to bring a house; and as the struggle for liberty in Greece was at that period the prevailing excitement, I finished the melodrama of the *Grecian Captive*, which was brought out with all the advantages of good scenery and music. As a 'good house' was of more consequence to the actor than fame to the author, it was resolved that the hero of the piece should make his appearance on an elephant, and the heroine on a camel, which were procured from a neighbouring *menagerie*, and the *tout ensemble* was sufficiently imposing, only it happened that the huge elephant, in shaking his skin, so rocked the castle on his back, that the Grecian general nearly lost his balance, and was in imminent danger of coming down from his 'high estate,' to the infinite merriment of the audience. On this occasion, to use another significant phrase, a 'gag' was hit upon of a new character altogether. The play was printed, and each auditor was presented with a copy gratis, as he entered the house. Figure to yourself a thousand people in a theatre, each with a book of the play in hand—imagine the turning over a thousand leaves simultaneously, the buzz and fluttering it produced, and you will readily believe that the actors entirely forgot their parts, and even the equanimity of the elephant and camel were essentially disturbed.

"My last appearance as a dramatic writer was in another national piece, called the *Siege of Tripoli*, which the managers persuaded me to bring out for my own benefit, being my first attempt to derive any profit from dramatic efforts. The piece was elegantly got up—the house crowded with beauty and fashion—every thing went off in the happiest manner; when a short time after the audience had retired, the Park

theatre was discovered to be on fire, and in a short time was a heap of ruins. This conflagration burnt out all my dramatic fire and energy, since which I have been, as you well know, peaceably employed in settling the affairs of the nation, and mildly engaged in the political differences and disagreements which are so fruitful in our great state.

"I still, however, retain a warm interest for the success of the drama, and all who are entitled to success engaged in sustaining it, and to none greater than to yourself, who has done more, in actual labour and successful efforts, than any man in America. That you may realize all you have promised yourself, and all that you are richly entitled to, is the sincere wish of

"Dear sir,

"Your friend and servant,

"Wm. Dunlap, Esq. "M. M. Noah."

THE CONGREGATION SHEARITH ISRAEL.

An Historical Review.

By N. Taylor Phillips, LL.B., *New York City.*

The 12th of September, 1860, was selected as the date for the consecration of the synagogue in Nineteenth Street, New York City, for the reason that for many years it was supposed to have been the date in the year 1654 that the Jews first trod the soil of the present United States, as on that day the bark "Catarina," commanded by Jacques de la Motthe, landed twenty-seven refugees from Portuguese persecution in Brazil (Cape St. Anthony). Their baggage was sold to pay their passage money, and this proving insufficient, two of them, David Israel and Moses Ambrosius, were held in custody for the balance. The American Jewish Historical Society, which for the past few years has been bringing to light data on the sources of American Jewish history, has not only established that Jews were in Maryland years before that time, but that there were also previously thereto Jews in the city of New Amsterdam itself. These were merchants in business under quasi agreements with the directors of the West India Company. A flood of light is thrown on the supposed first arrival by a letter written at New Amsterdam in the year (March 18th) 1655, by the Rev. Johannus Megapolensis. It is now in the archives of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America. In it he states that Jews came from Holland last summer *to trade.* Later a few came upon the same ship with Dominie Polheymius (who came from Brazil in 1654 where he had been minister). He also says that those last mentioned (who are also referred to above) were very poor

and that his church had to help them for the reason that their own people, the Jewish merchants, would only lend them a few stivers. We also know that in 1656 Asser Levy applied to the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens to admit him to citizenship and showed a certificate that he had been a burgher in Amsterdam. This citizenship was granted in 1657, so that it is plain from these facts that the long supposed first comers found Jews here on their arrival who had been well-to-do merchants in Holland. It will thus be observed that at the present time the precise year of the advent of the Jews in New Amsterdam is shrouded in mystery, but we know that it was prior to the date hitherto accepted.

It is well known that the Dutch Governors fought hard to suppress all religions but that of the Reformed Church, while the Dutch West India Company, depending as it did on the financial support of persons of several religions, among them the Jews, as earnestly endeavored to place them on an equality. We learn from a letter addressed to Governor Stuyvesant, dated September 25th, 1655, by the directors of the West India Company that the right to have a regular synagogue was not allowed to the Jews. Nor is there any reason at the present time to believe that this order was modified during the Dutch rule, which terminated in 1664, save for the single year from 1663 to 1664, and the presumption is strong that in the nine years above alluded to the same conditions obtained. It may almost be said to be settled definitely that this congregation met in a public place of worship, established in a fixed location, no earlier than 1673, under the administration of Governor Colve. We know positively that in 1682 the congregation was meeting in a house rented from John Harpording on Mill, now South William, Street, with services regularly maintained. This is gathered from a letter written by the Rev. Henricus Selyns to the Classis of Amsterdam in October, 1682, which is in the possession of the General Synod of

the Reformed Church in America, and places this congregation ahead of Trinity Church, and fourth (if not third) among the churches of New York City. *En passant* it may be proper to state that Rev. Dr. Selyns was the man who, in great measure, preserved the records of his time for the benefit of his church, and it seems appropriate enough that this organization has recently celebrated the 200th anniversary of the granting of its charter when Rev. Selyns was its pastor. With the number of Jews known to have been in this city between 1650 and 1675, it seems certain that services were maintained privately at the several homes of the members of the community during this period. The application for a cemetery which was refused in July, 1655, but granted on the 14th of July, 1656, seems to confirm this view. It may not be too much to urge that with the granting of this piece of ground which adjoined another parcel of fifty-two feet purchased by Joseph Bueno,* the Congregation Shearith Israel entered upon its career as an institution organized for the worship of the Almighty, according to the creed of Israel, and that the year 1656 may be reasonably settled as the beginning of its communal existence.

It is worthy of note that it was from a member of this congregation, Asser Levy, that the Lutherans, the second church established in New York (1657), borrowed the money to erect their first building "outside the city gate, because ground was cheap there," near Broadway and Pine Street, in 1671. This congregation is therefore bone of the city's bone and flesh of the very flesh of even the present church organizations of alien faith in existence at the present time, for again in 1711 we find some of the members among those who contributed to the completion of Trinity Church, and

*This prominent Jew is believed to have been of the family Bueno de Mesquita. He bought it from William and Mary (or Margery) Merritt in 1681. It was enlarged, December 17th, 1729, by a purchase from Roy Willey, of London, for £30. It is still held by the congregation.

also in 1682 attending divine worship at the Reformed Church, probably out of respect for its pastor.

Of the first minister, Saul Brown,* we know he was a merchant of standing who came to New York from Newport, and that he officiated in the synagogue regularly, being the first one to do so. As he died in the year 1682, the suggestion heretofore made that the congregation met for worship (probably in the homes of the members) prior to that time seems to be confirmed. The second, Rev. Abraham Haim de Lucena, was a relative, believed to be a son of Abraham de Lucena. The latter was a man prominent in mercantile life, who arrived in the city of New Amsterdam in 1655. Possessing attainments, he immediately became conspicuous, not only among his people as one ever ready to ably advocate their cause, but also as a factor in the business community. He was among those who secured the cemetery in 1656, various other rights and privileges for his brethren, which it is not necessary to particularize here, and died about the year 1670. Rev. Abraham Haim de Lucena, the second minister, was also a prominent merchant, but subsequently relinquished that occupation and devoted himself exclusively to the duties of his holy calling, and died about the year 1720.

Of the third, Benjamin Wolf, we know little save that he ruled the spiritual welfare of the congregation for not more than half a dozen years after the death of de Lucena, and that he was a learned man and distinguished by the title of "Rabbi." With the advent of his successor, Rev. Moses Lopez de Fonseca, we are brought to the relinquishing of the frame dwelling rented from Harpording, and the erection of the synagogue one hundred feet to the west of that house, on land purchased from Cornelius Clopper, December 19th, 1728. This was forty feet front on the north side of Mill Street, forty feet in rear, one hundred and ten feet on the west side and ninety three feet on the

*Saul Brown's real name was Morenu, which is Spanish for Brown.

east side. It was subsequently enlarged in 1758 (when a minister's house was bought from Cornelius Clopper, Jr.). A committee consisting of Bernard Hart and Sampson Simson was appointed, 16th March, 1806, for the purpose of purchasing additional land; the negotiations were concluded on July 3rd, 1806. The congregation then bought forty-six feet to the east to Peter Goelet's warehouse and to the north to the old line of Princess Street in the middle of present Beaver Street, for the sum of $250. The size of the synagogue was 36x58 feet. The site of Harpording's house which was given up was subsequently the residence of Rev. Louis Row, of the Huguenot Church, and Harpording, himself a shoemaker, was the man who gave the "Shoemaker's pasture" to the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church, one of the sources of its present great wealth.

At a meeting of the congregation on 15th Heshvan, 1728, Mr. Lewis Gomez, Parnas (President), it resolved to buy the ground and erect the synagogue, and from that day the work was actively prosecuted until the consecration on the eve of the 7th day of Passover, 1730. The names of those who engaged in the work are known: the minister de Fonseca, Lewis Gomez and his sons Mordecai, Daniel, David and Moses;* Jacob Franks, Benjamin Mendez Pacheco, Isaac de Medina, Rodrigo Pacheco, Abraham Isaacs, Nathan Levy, Jacob Hays, Daniel Mendez de Costa, Joseph Nunez and Baruch Judah. The splendid aid the women gave to the erection of the sacred edifice is not forgotten: Mrs. Bilhah Abigail, wife of Jacob Franks, Simha de Torres, Rachel Luiza, Mrs. Judith Mendez Pacheco, Mrs. Hayah Hannah Michaels, Miriam Lopez de Fonseca—all rendered valuable assistance, and to this day the congregation evinces its gratitude to them in a special *Escaba*, (prayer for the dead).

After the consecration of the synagogue communal affairs rested, the congregation did not receive very numerous

* Moses Gomez was president when it was consecrated. Lewis Gomez died in that year.

additions to its membership, but it had in the Gomez and other wealthy families ready helping hands, and it grew in dignity and importance. Rev. Mr. de Fonseca was succeeded in 1734 by Rev. David Mendez Machado, who with his father-in-law, Dr. Samuel Nunez, arrived in Savannah, Georgia, from Lisbon, Portugal, via England, in the summer of 1733. His brother Aaron was made a freeman in the city of New York in 1739,* and some of his wife's family subsequently removed to New York. Several mementos of his ministry are in the possession of his descendants, members of the congregation at this time. He officiated until his death in 1753 and was succeeded by Benjamin Pereira Mendez, more commonly known as Benjamin Pereira, who was a merchant in New York, but relinquished business to become the successor of Machado, and died in 1759. The only matter of importance which had happened not above mentioned was the purchase in 1727 of two lots together, 50x112 feet, on the east side of Gold Street between Ferry and Beekman streets, for an additional cemetery. Owing to the subsequent purchase for the same object from Roy Willey of a parcel adjoining the old ground they were never used, but sold about the year 1752. They cost £46, 13 shillings.

The name of the successor of Rev. Benjamin Pereira Mendez has become familiar to the congregation as the man who fixed the times for the performance of the holy services, shortly after his accession to the ministry in 1759. He also prepared a fixed table of time to commence the Sabbath, which until then had been left to the will of the individual, and also the times for beginning the services in the synagogue on Sabbaths, festivals and fasts, which had been in the discretion of the ministers. This arrangement has now prevailed over 137 years and has been a monument to the Rev. Joseph Jessurun Pinto. He was a young man when

* Valentine's *History of the City of New York*, 1853.

he became minister, but was of an old and wealthy Portuguese family which had then been in New York over three decades and greatly respected. He was thoroughly versed in the Spanish and Portuguese languages, although he is believed to have been born in New York City, and was deeply learned in the law. In many ways he has left his memorial in the congregation, and his demise in the year 1766 in his prime (and the seventh of his ministry) was a a source of profound regret. He had married in 1762 Rebecca, daughter of Moses de la Torré, of London. He was a son of Isaac Pinto, and in the archives of the Pennsylvania Historical Society may be seen a copy of a prayer delivered by him on the occasion of the special service held in the synagogue in New York, October 23rd, 1760, in conformity with the proclamation for a general thanksgiving for the acquisition of Canada by Great Britain.

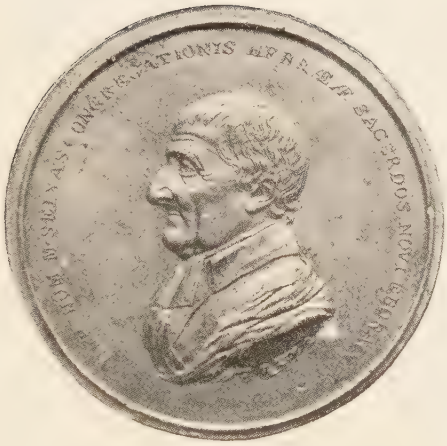
We now approach the beginning of one of the most important epochs in the congregation's history. With the year 1766 was commenced the ministry of the Rev. Gershom Mendez Seixas, which covered half a century and witnessed many exciting events. He was born in the city of New York, 1745. He was the son of Isaac Mendez Seixas, a native of Lisbon, Portugal, who arrived in New York about the year 1730, but who after many years of mercantile life removed to Newport, R. I. His mother was Rachel, daughter of Moses Levy.* He died in 1728 and was buried in the cemetery on Chatham Square, in New York.

Rev. Gershom Seixas was a man of great learning, as, in fact, were nearly all his predecessors. He was above all a devoted patriot, and under his influence the congregation, though sharply divided on the lines of Tory and Patriot, resolved in August, 1776, to close the synagogue upon the approach of the British to New York, rather than continue it under their protection and auspices. The members of the

*Born in New York, 1710.

congregation, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the Crown by publicly espousing the side of liberty, went mostly to Philadelphia, while some of their brethren remained in New York. No serious effort, however, was made to re-open the synagogue with any regularity until about the time of the declaration of peace. Nor, in fact, would it have been feasible even were they so minded, for under the direction of Rev. Mr. Seixas the building had been stripped of everything that could be carried away. The essentials to constitute a synagogue were missing, and it seems likely that, having gained his point in closing it, he was determined that none of the fruits of victory should be snatched from the patriots. Mr. Lyon Jonas, a furrier in Broad Street, and a leader of the Tory party, had the building opened from time to time and acted as Parnas (president), but these occasions were few and generally of a special character.

Rev. Mr. Seixas officiated as minister of the congregation Mickvé Israel, in Philadelphia, from 1780 to the end of the hostilities, when he returned to New York, March 23rd, 1784. Rev. Jacob Raphael Cohen and Rev. Emanuel Nunez Carvalho had been acting as ministers for a short time prior to this. The congregation quickly recovered itself, and on April 6th, 1784, the Legislature of the State of New York, having enacted a law permitting all religious organizations to become bodies corporate under a General Act, the congregation immediately availed itself of this privilege and called a meeting to elect trustees, May 12th, 1784, adjourned to May 19th, 1784, adjourned to May 24th, 1784, when they proceeded to elect trustees thereunder as follows: Myer Myers, Hayman Levy, Solomon Simson, Isaac Moses, Solomon Myers Cohen, Benjamin Mendez Seixas, Myer Myers, Chairman; Alexander Zuntz, Treasurer; Sol. Myers Cohen, First Clerk of the Congregation, after it had been declined by Isaac Pinto and Benjamin S. Judah. The following electors voted: Abraham I. Abrahams, Myer Myers, Solo-



GERSHOM MENDES SEIXAS,

1747-1816.

mon Simson, Hayman Levy, Alexander Zuntz, Levy Cohen, Joseph Pinto, Abraham I. Levy, Samuel Israel, Lyon Hart, Solomon M. Cohen, Benjamin Seixas, Manuel Noah, Benjamin Jacobs, Benjamin Judah, Michael Hays, Moses Israel, Joshua Isaacs, Jacob Mordecai, Isaac Moses, Moses A. Meyers, Baruch Judah and Isaac Judah. The first business transacted by the board after the adoption of certain rules of order, was on Tamuz 22nd, 1784, regarding the purchase from Isaac Roosevelt of two lots of ground next to the cemetery on Chatham Square, which was concluded in the same month for £80. Michael Hays was the Sexton in 1784. In the year 1797 the seal of the corporation was designed, and on June 24th, 1805, the Constitution of the congregation was adopted and a new charter of incorporation filed. This constitution is so strongly drawn that no change or alteration has been effected in it in nearly a century, notwithstanding many efforts, excepting in the year 1836, when some amendments were made by unanimous consent in order to conform with certain wholesome provisions of law passed by the Legislature.

In 1802 the Hebra Hased Vé Amet, now one of the oldest Jewish charitable societies in the United States, was organized by the members of the congregation, but not its first society, for in 1731 the society "Mezion teza Torah," for the object of perpetuating the old ritual, was established, while the Hebra Gemilut Hasadim, for burying the dead, etc., was organized about the year 1785. In 1801 Myer Polonies died and bequeathed to the congregation the sum of $900 for the founding of a free school, which legacy was received by the trustees in January, 1803, and the same, enlarged by subsequent benefactions, is now giving religious instruction to about one hundred and fifty children annually, free of all charge and without regard to congregational affiliation.

About this time the old cemetery in Oliver Street (Chatham Square) began to display indications of filling rapidly

and a piece of ground was purchased on Milligan Street, Greenwich, from John Agnew, fifty feet front and rear by one hundred feet in depth, for $376, on May 12th, 1804. Eleventh Street was subsequently laid out through Milligan Street in 1829. Wolfe Polock was the first person buried there, and that was on the day it was consecrated, 28th Adar R., 1805. The ceremony of dedication was performed by Aaron Levy, president; Naphtali Phillips and Naphtali Judah, trustees. At first it was only used for strangers and as a general overflow ground. In 1822, owing to the yellow fever plague, the Common Council prohibited interments below Canal Street, and the Eleventh Street ground became the regular burial-place of the congregation, but not for long, for, as has been stated, when Eleventh Street was opened it went directly through it, and the bodies were removed to that portion which may now be seen and which was bought from the city, November 2nd, 1830, for $759.72. The commissioners had condemned too much property for opening Eleventh Street and sold that portion to the congregation. On July 2nd, 1816, Rev. Gershom Seixas died, much lamented as a man who stood high in the esteem of the citizens of this city without regard to creed. He had been a trustee of Columbia College from 1787 to 1815, when he resigned, the only Hebrew who has ever held that position. He was always a participant and representative of the congregation in all public functions, not the least being his presence officially in the ceremonies attending the inauguration of President Washington in New York in 1789. His loss was a severe one to the congregation, and special memorial services were held for him in the synagogue. He was succeeded by Rev. Moses Levi Maduro Peixotto, a native of Amsterdam, Holland, who had arrived in New York from Curaçoa (K. K. Mickvé Israel), a married man, on July 11th, 1807. He was a merchant in Front Street when he became acting minister, and so continued until 1820, when he was regularly elected by the congregation and gave up business. He

resided at one time in Cedar Street near Greenwich, and also at 105 Greenwich, until he removed to the house next to the synagogue, regularly occupied by the minister. He declined to accept compensation for his services, and during his ministry regularly paid over his salary to the widow of Rev. Gershom Mendez Seixas, his predecessor.

The old synagogue was demolished 1817, the congregation worshiping in a room in an engine house on Beaver Street, west of Broad, until the new synagogue which was erected on the same site was finished. It was in size 33x58 feet, and was consecrated on the eve of Shabbat Haggadol (the Great Sabbath) 1818, with an elaborate ceremonial. An original poem in Hebrew, by Rabbi Dob Peke, the principal of the Polonies Talmud Torah School, attached to the congregation, was read upon that occasion, and an address delivered by Major Mordecai M. Noah. In 1822 the yellow fever prevailed as a plague in the city below Chambers Street. This was designated as the "infected district," and every one that could moved above that street. The congregation rented a school-house, corner of Oliver and Henry streets, and worshiped there until the plague subsided. In 1823 the congregation sold an unused portion of the cemetery on Chatham Square (the part fronting on that street, 45x88 feet) to the Tradesmen's Bank. Rev. Mr. Peixotto died July 16th, 1828, age sixty-two years, and his last wish was to be interred in the old cemetery on Chatham Square. The Common Council having prohibited interments there, unless at a penalty of $250, it looked for a while as though his wish would not be regarded, but Mr. Harmon Hendricks, a wealthy elector and president of the congregation, personally paid the fine and the interment was made. But it seemed as though fate had decreed that the minister was not to rest in the ancient ground, for when New Bowery was cut through the cemetery in 1856, his grave was in the path of the proposed street, and his remains were removed to the cemetery on Twenty-first Street.

In 1828 the trustees sold to David Bryson and Robert Swanton the rear part of the land of the cemetery on Chatham Square which had not been used, fronting on Oliver and Madison streets, for $30,000. There was an assessment on the same for $11,626.54 for the surrounding improvements, and the congregation, to prevent its being sold to pay the assessment, mortgaged it to Harmon Hendricks for that amount, he having advanced the money to pay the assessment, but this sale enabled the congregation to discharge the obligation.

In 1828 the congregation purchased from Conrad Ritter, for a cemetery, 36 lots on Fourth Avenue, 71st and 72nd streets. The property was never used as such, being in the estimation of the trustees "too far away from the city." On June 2nd, 1829, another piece of ground was purchased from Horatio Wilkes on 21st Street, 75 feet west of Sixth Avenue, and dedicated on August 17th of that year. Interments in the Eleventh Street ground ceased shortly thereafter. The 21st Street ground was enlarged in 1832 to 120 feet 8 inches on Sixth Avenue, by 75 feet deep, bought from Horatio Wilkes. On January 19th, 1844, two lots on 13th Street, which had been bought March 2nd, 1802, from Stephen B. Munn, to be used as a cemetery for those dying of contagious diseases, but in which there had been but two interments, were traded with Gabriel H. Winter for 80 feet 5 inches by 60 feet on 20th Street, commencing 75 feet west of Sixth Avenue, exactly in the rear of the 21st Street cemetery.* The Fourth Avenue and 72nd Street lots were sold in 1864.

*The lots on 13th Street, when purchased in 1802, fronted 50 feet on East Bank Street, which crossed nearly diagonally the proposed line of 13th Street between Sixth and Seventh Avenues. When it was discovered that 13th Street when opened would cut through the cemetery, no interments were permitted except as above stated. Thus the land remained until 13th Street was opened some years subsequently, and left the congregation with a large irregular parcel, having a frontage on the new street of but 11 feet and 10 inches, in which shape it was traded with Mr. Winter.

In 1825 certain members of the congregation, who had been accustomed to the Polish or German ritual, appointed a committee consisting of Rowland Davies, John I. Hart and Daniel Jackson, to request the trustees to aid them in forming a separate congregation, to worship according to that rite. A letter was accordingly addressed to the Board, dated October 6th, 1825, and endorsed by various members of the congregation who had no intention of joining the new one. It was favorably received, and a synagogue was consecrated in Elm Street, at which ceremony the officers of the congregation Shearith Israel participated. The new congregation became the B'nai Jeshurun, now worshiping at Madison Avenue and 65th Street, the second oldest in the city.

The Rev. Moses L. M. Peixotto was succeeded by the Rev. Isaac B. Seixas, after several candidates for the position of minister had been heard. He was a son of Benjamin Mendez Seixas and Zipporah, daughter of Hayman Levy and Sloë Myers, and was a gentleman of culture and education. During his ministry, in the spring of 1833 (April 15th), the synagogue and properties in Mill Street were sold to George and Hugh T. Dickey, and a new synagogue was erected on ground, size 100 x 102 by 98.9 x 100 feet, on west side of Crosby Street, between Spring and Broome streets. It was consecrated on the eve of the first day of Pentecost, 1834, when precisely the same order of service was used as at the consecration of the Mill Street Synagogue in 1818. The congregation worshiped at corner of White and Centre streets while the synagogue was being erected.

After the great fire of 1835, which swept over the lower part of the city, Mill Street ceased to exist as such, but South William Street (which is Mill Street widened and extended) took its place.

Rev. Isaac B. Seixas died, August 10th, 1839, aged 57 years, and was buried in the cemetery of the congregation on 21st Street. He was succeeded by the Rev. Jacques J.

Lyons, a native of Surinam, Dutch Guiana, who had officiated as minister of the congregation Berachah Vé Shalom, Richmond, Va., and eleswhere. He is well remembered as a man of great culture, dignity and piety, and possessed of qualities of mind which have left their impress on the congregation second to none of his predecessors. He instantly became bound up in the congregation's welfare to an extent that was remarkable for one not born in it, and this intense interest only terminated with his death, which was regarded as a calamity to the community. Nothing was too minute to receive his attention, and prosperity followed the congregation during the whole of his ministry.

On June 16th, 1851, the congregation purchased land from Abraham Snedicor for a cemetery in Kings and Queens Counties on Long Island, six miles from the Williamsburg Ferry, consisting of about 6¼ acres. The Common Council of New York City having passed a resolution prohibiting interments within the city limits, the cemetery on 21st Street was closed. The new one was separately and specially chartered by the Legislature in the year 1853. It seems curious that the congregation has never been able to keep its cemetery outside the city of New York. When the land on Long Island was purchased 46 years ago it was thought that the matter was settled for all time, but the recent Act creating the Greater New York has brought the Beth Haim once more within the city limits. The synagogue in Crosby Street was sold February 1st, 1859, and lots purchased in Nineteenth Street, corner of Fifth Avenue, February 4th, 1859, 27.8½x100 on the Avenue and 70x92 on Nineteenth Street, as the site for a new one. The lot corner of Fifth Avenue was sold in the same year to Daniel Parish. The congregation worshiped at 894 Broadway while the new building was being erected. The synagogue in Nineteenth Street was consecrated with great pomp on the 12th of September, 1860, the corner-stone having been laid on July 11th, 1859, with appropriate ceremonies.

In 1856 New Bowery was cut through the cemetery on Chatham Square, and 256 bodies were removed, or rather that number of graves were opened. Of those, all but three, which were removed to the cemetery of the congregation on Long Island, were re-interred in the cemetery on 21st Street, New York, in separate graves. An entrance to the cemetery being made on the new street, the old one on Oliver Street opposite Henry Street was closed, and the lot constituting the same was sold in November, 1858, to F. Doering. In 1856 the Rev. Dr. A. Fischell was engaged to deliver sermons in English regularly, and served in that capacity until towards the close of the year 1861. He was a native of Amsterdam, Holland, to which city he returned, and died there in 1894. He was succeeded in 1874 by the Rev. Dr. Henry S. Jacobs, who resigned the position in 1876 to become minister of the congregation B'nai Jeshurun. In 1868 a house for the minister, adjoining the synagogue in 19th Street, was purchased. The congregation sustained a severe loss when the Rev. Mr. Lyons died on August 12th, 1877, aged 63 years, and he was sincerely mourned as one who had been indeed the guardian of the congregation. His successor, the present minister, Rev. Dr. Henry Pereira Mendes, a native of England and grandson of the late Rev. David de Sola of London, was selected as an assistant to the Rev. Mr. Lyons, and acted as such for a few months prior to the latter's death. He was elected preacher as well as reader, and the Rev. David H. Nieto was elected as his assistant in 1878, and officiated as such until 1886, when he resigned. His successor in the same year was his own brother, Rev. Abraham H. Nieto, for many years minister of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in Jamaica, W. I.

In 1882 the congregation sold to Hugh O'Neill for $260,000, the property on Sixth Avenue and 20th Street, which had been acquired in 1832 and 1844.

For many years prior to the Revolution there existed in the city of Newport, R. I., a congregation of Israelites under

the name "Jeshuat Israel," which met regularly for worship in the houses of the members, and this practice continued until the year 1763, when a synagogue was consecrated on the first day of Hanuka, on land purchased June 13th, 1759, by Jacob Rodrigues Reveira, Isaac Hart and Moses Levy from Ebenezer Allen. The necessity for a synagogue was occasioned by the large number of Hebrews attracted to Newport from various cities, especially New York, by the commercial advantages which it offered. Many prominent Israelites whose names are known, left New York and were among those who assisted in building the house of worship, for which purpose the congregation Shearith Israel contributed from its funds. The architect, Peter Harrison, was proficient in his art and built several New England churches, among them Trinity Church at Newport about one hundred and fifty years ago, and still standing, the congregation of which is about celebrating its two hundredth anniversary.

The Newport Cemetery was purchased by Moses Pacheco and Mordecai Campanell from Nathaniel Dickens, February 28th, 1767. After the Revolution, Newport having lost its commercial importance, the Hebrews gradually withdrew from the city, and services were held but irregularly, until finally the minister, Rev. Isaac Touro, whose family intermarried with and became members of the congregation Shearith Israel in New York, returned to Kingston, Jamaica, whence he came, and in 1818 there were no Hebrews left at Newport save Moses, Jacob and Samuel Lopez and their immediate relatives. The Scrolls of the Law which had been sent to Newport from New York by the Congregation Shearith Israel many years previously, were returned, and the synagogue was closed. In 1822 Abraham Touro, a son of the minister, died at Boston and bequeathed the sum of $10,000 to the State of Rhode Island, in trust for the preservation of the synagogue edifice. He also left $10,000 to the Congregation Shearith Israel in New York. His brother,

Judah Touro, well-known for his public benefactions, who died in 1854, left the sum of $10,000 in trust for the preservation of the cemetery and for the payment of the salary of a minister whenever there should be a sufficient number of Jews in Newport to hold services in the synagogue regularly. He bequeathed $13,000 to the Congregation Shearith Israel's School.

In 1881 it was represented to the Congregation Shearith Israel that there were then enough Hebrews at Newport to open the synagogue. They proceeded to do so, and the Rev. Abraham P. Mendes, father of the minister of the Congregation Shearith Israel, well known as a scholar and clergyman of ability, was called from London, England, to officiate in the old synagogue, which he continued to do until his death in 1891. The congregation appointed as his successor the Rev. David Baruch, of New York City, who still continues as minister. The Hebrews at Newport were incorporated as a congregation by the Legislature of Rhode Island, under the old name of Jeshuat Israel, in 1894, the trustees of the Congregation Shearith Israel being also trustees of the new corporation. A constitution was adopted, proclaiming allegiance to the ancient ritual, rites and customs of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. In the same year, the heirs of the survivors of the original purchasers of the lands which constitute the synagogue and cemetery properties at Newport, executed deeds of conveyance to the trustees of the Congregation Shearith Israel, conveying to them as such their title to the same, thus reposing in the congregation in fact that which had existed in theory for many years, the actual ownership of the ancient landmarks. The temporal affairs of the Newport Hebrews are supervised by Mr. Eugene Schreier, a merchant in that city, who acts as president of the corporation, and has proven a faithful and efficient representative of the interests of the Congregation Shearith Israel.

In 1894 the congregation resolved to sell the synagogue

in 19th Street and purchase a site further uptown for a new one, which was concluded in the month of March, 1895, by the purchase of six lots, each 25 x 100 feet, southwest corner of Seventieth Street and Central Park West, from Charles Hoffman, for $130,000, and the erection of the sacred edifice commenced by Arnold W. Brunner and Thomas Tryon, architects, and Percy Jacobs, an elector of the congregation and a member of one of its oldest families, builder. The corner-stone was laid with appropriate ceremonies on Wednesday afternoon, May 20th, 1896, and it was dedicated on May 19th, 1897. It is entirely paid for and without any mortgage, which, according to the constitution, can never rest on a synagogue of the congregation.

GROWTH OF JEWISH POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

By David Sulzberger, *Philadelphia.*

It is impossible to arrive at the exact number of Jews at present living in the United States, nor has that number been at any time definitely attainable, as the United States Government does not classify persons by their religious convictions in the enumerations for the decennial census. Nevertheless various estimates have been made from time to time with considerable care, and from these it may be possible to gather an approximate idea of the growth of population.

The first statement known to me as to the number of Jews in the United States is given by Hannah Adams* about 1812, on the authority of the Reverend Gershom Mendes Seixas, who was the most distinguished and best informed Jewish minister of his time in America. She writes:

"A respectable rabbi of New York has given the following account of his brethren in the United States. There are about fifty families of Jews in New York, which, with a number of unmarried men, make from seventy to eighty subscribing members to the Congregation Shearith Israel."

There were undoubtedly others residing in New York at the time who were not subscribers to the Congregation Shearith Israel, and it would be safe to infer that there were about three hundred and fifty souls in that Congregation and no less than fifty additional unattached.

"In Philadelphia there may be about thirty families of

**History of the Jews*, 1812, vol. II, pp. 215–16–17–20.

Jews . . . There may be from eighty to one hundred in the whole State of Pennsylvania."

Of South Carolina she says :

"The present number of Jews may be estimated at about a thousand. Charleston alone contains about six or seven hundred individuals. In Richmond (Virginia) there are about thirty Jewish families."

Mordecai M. Noah, in his discourse upon the occasion of the dedication of the Synagogue Shearith Israel, April 17, 1818, estimated the Jewish population of the United States at 3000.

Dr. H. Pereira Mendes called my attention to an anonymous book entitled *Israel Vindicated*, published by Abraham Collins, of 268 Greenwich Street, New York, in 1820, in which the estimate of Major Noah was confirmed, the author writing, "But no excuse can be found for so long a neglect of this in the United States, where our nation, from a population of upwards of 3000, are daily increasing in numbers, in wealth and importance."

S. Gilman says in the *North American Review* of July, 1826, p. 73, quoting Isaac Harby :

"The number of the Jews in the United States is difficult to arrive at with any precision. Such are the influences of habit and time, that while in the Old World, under innumerable exactions and disqualifications, there are six millions of Israelites, there are, in these happy United States, not more than six thousand. I arrive at this conclusion rather from comparative corollaries than from any given and accurate data.

"Neither Ramsay, Mellish, Morse, Bellamy, nor any other writer, pretending to enumerate various religious classes, has thrown one spark of light upon the subject. In the New England States there cannot be more than three or four hundred in all ; in Pennsylvania, about that number ; in New York, about nine hundred and fifty ; in Virginia, about four hundred ; in North Carolina, about four hun-

dred; in South Carolina, about one thousand and two hundred; in Georgia, about four hundred; in Florida, about thirty or forty; in Louisiana, about one hundred; and, making a large allowance for the scattered and unknown, I think six thousand the maximum."

The American Almanac of 1840 gives the number of Jews in the United States as fifteen thousand.

In the *History of the Jews up to the present time*, 2nd edition, Boston, 1848, compiled and published by M. A. Berk, he says: "From the best information it would appear that there are about 50,000 Jews in the United States. From 12,000 to 13,000 of this number are supposed to reside in the city of New York, 4000 in Philadelphia, and in Baltimore 1000.

"A large body of Jews appear to be settled in South Carolina. In all our western cities, such as Buffalo, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville and St. Louis, as also in New Orleans, considerable numbers of Israelites are found."

Rev. Isaac Leeser* in 1846 placed the figures for New York at 10,000; Philadelphia, 1800; Baltimore, 1500; State of Virginia, 600.

The article is the first careful summary of the condition of the Jews in the United States known to me, and would be well worth reprinting in some other connection. It contains much valuable historical material, although some of the statements have been corrected by later research.

The Rev. J. J. Lyons, of New York, and Prof. Abraham de Sola, of Montreal, in their 50-year calendar, published in 1854, gave a list of 97 congregations with their affiliated societies then existing in the United States, Canada and the West Indies. No figures, however, were supplied.

The first systematic attempt to obtain definite statistical information was undertaken by the Board of Delegates of

*"The Jews and their religion" in *The Jewish Miscellany*, No. VI, Philadelphia Jewish Publication Society, 5607 [1847], pp. 112–116.

American Israelites with the assistance of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. This work was in charge of a committee of which Mr. William B. Hackenberg of Philadelphia was chairman. The committee presented a tentative report to the meeting of the Board of Delegates held at New York, May 28 and 29, 1877. This tentative report (which contained some interesting historical material) gave as a total population 189,576. Estimates had not been received from a number of places, however, and the committee was requested to continue its labors. In September, 1880, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations published the statistics of the Jews of the United States, in which the total was given at 230,257.

For purposes of comparison the following summary of their labors is given:

State or Territory.	Population.	State or Territory.	Population
Alabama	2,045	Maryland	337
Arizona	48	Baltimore	10,000
Arkansas	1,466	Massachusetts	8,500
California	18,580	Michigan	3,233
Colorado	422	Minnesota	414
Connecticut	1,492	Mississippi	2,262
Dakota	19	Missouri	7,380
Delaware	585	Montana	131
Dist. of Columbia,	1,508	Nebraska	222
Florida	772	Nevada	780
Georgia	2,704	New Hampshire	150
Idaho	85	New Jersey	5,593
Illinois	12,625	New Mexico	108
Indiana	3,381	New York State	20,565
Iowa	1,245	New York City	60,000
Kansas	819	North Carolina	820
Kentucky	3,602	Ohio	6,581
Louisiana	7,538	Oregon	868
Maine	500	Pennsylvania	6,079

Philadelphia.....	12,000	Virginia.....	2,506
Rhode Island.....	1,000	Washington Terr'y,	145
South Carolina....	1,415	West Virginia.....	511
Tennessee.....	3,751	Wisconsin.....	2,559
Texas.....	3,300	Wyoming	40
Utah.....	258		
Vermont.....	120	Total.....	230,257

Isaac Markens, in *The Hebrews in America,* 1888, says:

"With a population of only 400,000 in the entire country, of which 125,000 are credited to New York, the Hebrews have made themselves felt throughout the land to an extent far greater than any other like number of people . . . During the year 1886 over 30,000 Hebrew emigrants were landed in New York, of whom more than two-thirds remained there. During the six years previous upwards of 50,000 came from Russia, Poland, Germany and Roumania, 114,000 being landed in the United States from 1881 to 1886."

In the "Report on Statistics of Churches in the United States at the Eleventh Census," (1890), p. 413, we find the following:

"The statistics of Jewish congregations are not frequently or periodically gathered, as is the custom of most religious denominations; but twice at least in the last forty years efforts have been made to ascertain the number of Jewish congregations in the United States, once in 1854 and again in 1880. According to the earlier report, there were, in 1854, 97 regularly organized congregations, of which 30 were in the State of New York. The latter count was made under the auspices of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites and the Union of Hebrew Congregations, and it required several years to complete the compilation. The results, which have been regarded as quite accurate, indicated the existence of 270 congregations, with 12,546 members, or about 50,000 communicants. The value of the real estate held by the congregations was returned at $4,706,700,

with other property aggregating $1,497,878, or a total of $6,204,578, exclusive of burying grounds.

"The work of gathering the statistics of the Jewish congregations for the eleventh census was committed to Mr. Phillip Cowen, of the *American Hebrew*, who spared no pains to secure full and accurate returns. The tables presented herewith show that there are now 533 congregations of Orthodox and Reformed Jews, with 130,496 communicants. It should be noted that in Jewish congregations the head of a family only is counted. The members of the family are represented by one person. The number given as communicants therefore does not indicate the number of members of a synagogue. Members of a family may, on attaining their majority, rent a pew and be counted as a member of a synagogue or temple, but they seldom do so until they have a household of their own. The two branches or schools have together 301 church edifices, with an approximate seating capacity of 139,284. Besides these edifices, 231 halls, etc., are occupied by congregations. These halls have a seating capacity of 28,477. The total value of the synagogue property is $9,754,275, indicating an increase in 10 years of $3,549,697. In the same period the number of communicants advanced from about 50,000 to 130,496. Much of this extraordinary increase is due, of course, to a large immigration."

Mr. Richard Wheatley, in an article on the Jews in New York, in the *Century Magazine* of January, 1892, writes as follows:

"Philip Cowen, the expert intrusted with the collection and tabulation of Jewish statistics, imperfectly and tardily rendered in response to printed inquiries, estimated the number of Jews living east of the Bowery and south of Fourteenth Street at 135,000, and that 40,000 more were scattered over the rest of the city.

"In April, 1890, good Hebrew judges reckoned the number of resident Poles and Russians at 50,000; Germans,

50,000; Roumanians, 25,000; Hungarians, 25,000, and of all other nationalities at 50,000.

"In February, 1891, Secretary Charles Frank, of the United Hebrew Charities, calculated the total at from 225,000 to 250,000, and predicted an additional immigration of from 45,000 to 50,000 in the following months of the year.

"In 1890, 32,321, of whom 23,970 remained in the city, landed at the port of New York. Of the 8350 passing on to other destinations, many returned to work out their own future amid the crowding difficulties of civic environment.

"Among the arrivals were 6056 Austrians, 25,154 Russians, 506 Roumanians and 517 Germans."

"Immigration," remarked an intelligent Jewish observer, "in five years has averaged 25,000 a year, of which more than 70 per cent. have stopped in New York. There, in the Jewish quarter, the number of inhabitants averages 330,000 to the square mile. In the most densely populated region of Old London the average is only 175,000. The English hive cannot exhibit a single cell like the seven-story house in New York which lodges, or did lodge, 36 families, including 58 babies and 38 children over 5 years of age."

The same writer says in *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1897:

"In the heterogeneous mass of folk from seventy diverse nations that compose the nearly two-millioned citizenship of the American metropolis, the Jews number more than one-eighth," which would be something over 250,000. Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, however, in an address delivered before the Anglo-Jewish Association in London (April 9, 1897), estimated the Jewish population of New York City at 350,000.

In the Jewish Year Book for 1896, edited by Mr. Joseph Jacobs, tables of immigration are given for 1881–1893, showing the arrival of 542,164 Russians and Poles in the United States. It is a fact well known, however, that quite a number of Poles and some Russians immigrating are not

Jews. I have accordingly prepared the following table upon information derived from the officers of the United Hebrew Charities in New York, the Immigration Society in Philadelphia, and the Baron de Hirsch Committee in Baltimore, whose returns show of course only Jewish immigrants. The tables are as follows:

	United Hebrew Charities, New York.	Immigration Society, Philadelphia.	Baron de Hirsch Committee, Baltimore.
1885,	18,535	1,076	
1886,	27,348	2,310	
1887,	25,788	1,680	
1888,	29,602	1,761	
1889,	22,674	1,288	
1890,	32,321	1,982	
1891,	62,574	4,984	1,581
1892,	52,134	3,039	5,152
1893,	25,678	5,324	1,941
1894,	16,381	3,823	1,902
1895,	27,065	2,791	2,221
1896,	23,802	2,499	1,817
Total	363,902	32,557	14,614

The total ascertained immigration since 1885 is 411,073, and adding 74,310 given by Mr. Jacobs for the years 1881–1884, the total of Jewish immigration to the United States since 1881 would be not over 485,383.

Upon the basis of earlier computations and with the aid of persons in various parts of the country I have prepared the following estimate of Jews now settled (1897) in the United States. This estimate is, I believe, conservative. It is not capriciously made, yet is put forward tentatively as material for criticism and discussion:

Alabama	6,000	Missouri	25,000
Arizona	2,000	Montana	2,500
Arkansas	4,000	Nebraska	2,000
California	35,000	Nevada	2,500
Colorado	1,500	New Hampshire	1,000
Connecticut	6,000	New Jersey	25,000
N. and S. Dakota,	3,500	New Mexico	2,000
Delaware	3,000	New York	350,000
Dist. of Columbia,	3,500	North Carolina	12,000
Florida	2,500	Ohio	50,000
Georgia	7,000	Oregon	6,000
Idaho	2,000	Pennsylvania	85,000
Illinois	85,000	Rhode Island	3,500
Indiana	15,000	South Carolina	8,000
Iowa	5,000	Tennessee	15,000
Kansas	3,500	Texas	12,000
Kentucky	12,000	Utah	5,000
Louisiana	20,000	Vermont	1,000
Maine	1,000	Virginia	18,000
Maryland	35,000	Washington	2,800
Massachusetts	20,000	West Virginia	6,000
Michigan	9,000	Wisconsin	10,000
Minnesota	6,000	Wyoming	1,000
Mississippi	5,000		
		Total	937,800

While fully conscious of the incompleteness of this work and sincerely regretting that but few replies were received to requests for information, I desire to thank those who so kindly rendered such assistance as lay in their power: Hon. A. S. Solomons, Washington, D. C.; A. H. Clark, Esq., Cleveland, O.; Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston, Texas; Mr. Nathaniel S. Rosenau, Manager United Hebrew Charities, N. Y.; Mr. Louis E. Levy, President Immigrants Aid Society, Philadelphia; Mr. S. Baroway, Agent, Committee of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, Baltimore, and Rev. Dr. H. P. Mendes, New York.

I trust that the paper will lead to discussion and the eliciting of further information which will eventually lead to the securing of a comparatively correct census of the Jews of the United States.

NOTES.

From the *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College, with Annals of the College History*, Vol. II, May, 1745–May, 1763, by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, M. A., New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1896, I extract the following references to persons of Jewish descent:

Page 233.—"Isaac Isaacs, the second son and fourth child of Ralph Isaacs, of Jewish extraction, who settled as a trader in Norwalk, Connecticut, and became a prominent citizen and one of the founders of the Episcopal Church in that town, was born there on July 19, 1732. His mother was Mary, daughter of Benjamin Rumsey, of Fairfield. A brother was graduated here in 1761; one sister married Benjamin Woolsey, of the class of 1744, and another married the Rev. Luke Babcock, of the class of 1755. He settled in Norwalk as a merchant, but in March, 1756, he was commissioned with the title of Captain Lieutenant, in Captain David Wooster's company in the Second Regiment of the Connecticut militia raised for an expedition against Crown Point; and two years later he served as captain in Colonel Wooster's regiment in the attack at Ticonderoga. He died in Norwalk, unmarried, early in 1762, in his 30th year. His will (made on November 23, 1761) was put on record on May 4, 1762, and disposed of his estate to his brothers and sister, excepting £50 bequeathed to St. Paul's Church, Norwalk, for communion plate; but the estate proved insolvent."

Page 699.—"Ralph Isaacs, the seventh child and youngest son of Ralph Isaacs, and a brother of Isaac Isaacs (Yale, 1750), was born in Norwalk, Connecticut, on June 4, 1741. He had the reputation while in college of being concerned in a good deal of mischief, and shared with his classmate, Coit,

the fate of being debarred from his second degree for disorderly conduct after the close of the Senior year. He settled in New Haven as a merchant as early as 1763, and continued in active and successful business here until the time of the Revolution. During the troublesome period between the repeal of the Stamp Act and the breaking out of the Revolution he came into public notice through his efforts toward allaying the rising feelings of discontent against the policy of the British Government. In September, 1770, he being engaged in the shipping business and a shipowner himself, was appointed by the town of New Haven as one of a committee to confer with like committees from the other towns in the colony, 'to consider what may be done toward promoting the commercial interests of the colony.' But when it became a question of armed resistance against the Crown, he, like many others of the adherents of the Church of England, manifested his sympathy with the mother country and, on the commencement of hostilities, was reported to the Committee of Inspection for New Haven as a public enemy.

"Complaint was made to the General Assembly in October, 1776, with the result that he was ordered to be removed to the parish of Eastbury, in the town of Glastonbury, and confined to its limits as a dangerous person. He secured a respite until December, on the ground of infirm health, and was then allowed to go to Durham, instead of Glastonbury, so that he might have the advantage of procuring supplies from his farm in Branford. A month later, Durham was heard from as objecting to his sojourning there, unless under more rigid restrictions; and he was then transferred to Wallingford, and thence in June, 1777, to Branford. He was finally set at liberty, after taking the oath of fidelity, in January, 1778, and during the rest of his life lived in comparative quiet and seclusion, residing mainly on his farm on "Cherry Hill" in Branford, until his death there, from apoplexy, on October 24, 1799, in his 59th year.

"He married, shortly after leaving college, Mary, daughter of Peter and Abigail (Shepard) Perit of Milford, who bore him seven children, and died in New Haven on February 4, 1816, in her 76th year. She was of French Huguenot descent, being a great-granddaughter of the Rev. Pierre Peiret, who escaped from France to this country in 1687, shortly after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, settled in New York, and became the first minister of the French Huguenot church in that city. One of their daughters married the Hon. Jonathan Ingersoll (Yale, 1766), and another married the Rev. Smith Miles (Yale, 1791). A son was graduated at Yale in 1784." CYRUS ADLER.

PORTRAITS OF JEWS ENGRAVED BY ST. MEMIN.

I copy from an elaborate work on the well-known engraver, St. Memin, a list of the names of Jews whose portraits were engraved by him during his stay in America. He was the most prominent engraver of his time, and made portraits of almost every distinguished American of the day. The title of the work is:

"The St. Memin collection of portraits; consisting of seven hundred and sixty medallion portraits, principally of distinguished Americans, photographed by J. Gurney and Son, of New York, from proof impressions of the original copper-plates, engraved by M. de St. Memin, from drawings taken from life by himself, during his exile in the United States from 1793 to 1814; to which are prefixed a memoir of M. de St. Memin, and biographical notices of the persons whose portraits constitute the collection, compiled from authentic and original sources by the publisher. New York, published by Elias Dexter, No. 562 Broadway. 1862."

The following are the Jewish portraits contained in the volume. An impression of that of Hyman Marks is in the possession of the Society. It would be very desirable if copies of the others could be procured.

"No. 64. Solomon Moses (1796) was a merchant in New York" (p. 23).

"No. 90. Abraham Hart (1796), of New York" (p. 25).

"No. 139. Sampson Levy (1802), was an eminent lawyer of Philadelphia. No. 743 was his wife" (p. 32).

"No. 559. Hyman Marks (1805), was a merchant of Richmond, Virginia. He afterwards removed to Philadelphia" (p. 82).

"No. 691. —— Dacosta (1798)" (p. 93).

"No. 734. Mrs. Levy (1802), of Philadelphia. She was the mother of Sampson Levy, an eminent lawyer of that city" (p. 101).

"No. 743. Mrs. Martha Levy (1802), *née* Lampley, was the wife of Sampson Levy (139), of Philadelphia" (p. 102).

CYRUS ADLER.

A SUBSCRIPTION LIST OF THE YEAR 1773.

The subjoined roll of names is selected from David Levi's English version of the Sephardic ritual, published over 120 years ago.* It is interesting to note the number of subscribers from Canada, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, and especially from the West Indies. Some of these names are quite unknown and may prove useful to the future historian:

	Copies.
1. Lindo Abarbanel, Jamaica,	1
2. Judith Barrow, Esq., Barbadoes,	1
3. Rebecca Barrow, "	1
4. Sarah Barrow, "	1

*The title of vol. VI [London, 5533 (=1773)] reads: סדר התפלות לתעניות כמנהג ק"ק ספרדים. The Form of Prayer for the Fast Days, according to the custom of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, faithfully translated from the original Hebrew by David Levi, author of Lingua Sacra, the Ceremonies of the Jews, etc."—See on Levi, *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 3 (1895), p. 132.

		Copies.
5.	Ab. Mendes Belisario, Jamaica,	2 [sets].
6.	Judah Joseph Berthier, Canada,	1
7.	Ab. Bravo, Esq., Spanish Town, Jamaica,	1
8.	Ja.[cob] De la Penha,* Jamaica,	1
9.	Solomon Etting, Baltimore,	1
10.	Moses Franco, Esq., Jamaica,	1
11.	Joseph Franco, " (?)	1
12.	Jacob Gutteres, Esq.,† Spanish Town, Jamaica,	1
13.	Ephr. Hart, New York,	1
14.	Aaron Hart, Three Rivers, Canada,	1
15.	Benjamin Hart, " "	1
16.	Ezekiel Hart, " "	1
17.	Moses Hart, Wm. Henry, "	1
18.	David Henriques, Esq., Spanish Town, Jamaica,	2 [sets].
19.	Manuel Josephson, Philadelphia,	1
20.	M. L.(?), Barbadoes,	1
21.	Isaac Lyon, Lucia, Jamaica,	1
22.	E. Montefiore, Barbadoes,	1
23.	Simon Nathan, New York,	4 [sets].
24.	E. D. P., Barbadoes,	1
25.	Isaac Phineas, Three Rivers, Canada,	1
26.	Joseph Ricardo, Philadelphia,	1
27.	Gershon Xeixas,‡ New York,	1

Several of the above-mentioned names are familiar to us, and may be found referred to in these *Publications* and in Henry S. Morais' *Jews of Philadelphia*. We shall add to this

* Or Peña, Penja.

†Or Gutterez, Gutieres, etc. Cf. *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2 (1894), p. 98. The family of Guttereces are said to have settled as early as the XVI century in the West Indies. In Jamaica they owned a settlement called *Palm Estate.*

‡ Read *Seixas.* He is no doubt identical with the Rev. Gershon Mendez Seixas, often referred to in the "Family History of the Reverend David Mendez Machado," by N. Taylor Phillips, LL. B., in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist Soc.*, No. 2, pp. 45–61 ; see also *Ibid.*, No. 3, p. 133.

list four more names taken from the same author's *Lingua Sacra* (vol. V, London, 1803):

1. Bloomfield, New York.
2. Franco, Esq., Jamaica.
3. Lucas, Sampson, Jamaica.
4. Muir, G. G., Jamaica.

GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT.

JEWISH SOLDIERS.

The following notes, taken from an article in the *American Jews' Annual* for 5650 (1890), by the late A. E. Frankland, of Chicago, entitled "Fragments of History," pp. 51-104, will serve to supplement the lists given in Hon. S. Wolf's book:

P. 57–58: Letter of Mrs. Ann Pamelia Cunningham, the Regent of the Ladies Mount Vernon Association, to Rev. Dr. Lilienthal, dated Philadelphia, January 26, 1859, thanking him for his efforts to enlist the Israelites of Ohio in the purchase of the "Home and Tomb of Washington."

P. 91: "One of the most beautiful tributes of affection for the soldiers of the Confederacy may be seen at the Jewish cemetery in this city [Richmond, Va.]. The soldiers of the Jewish faith who fell in the various engagements near this city have been buried in a lot which has been enclosed in an iron railing costing several hundred dollars. The railing is formed of stacks of muskets, swords, cannon balls, military caps and flags, and other implements of war, which form a very beautiful fence, being arranged in such a manner as to excite the admiration of all who have seen it. I do not recollect having seen such a beautiful memorial to the Union or Confederate dead in any part of our country." [*Evening Mail*, Richmond, Va.]

P. 93: "Fratricidal War.—The Blue and the Gray.—It as often been said that in the late civil strife 'brother met

brother face to face on the battle-field.' This has been exemplified in the writer's own family. Judah Frankland, for many years a resident of Nashville, Tennessee, a journalist by profession, and city editor for a long time of the *Nashville Gazette*, at the commencement of the war went out with General Zollicoffer. Solomon Frankland, of New York, enlisted in an eastern regiment and went to the front under General N. P. Banks. At the surrender of Port Hudson they met face to face, the 'Gray' surrendering to the 'Blue,' whose captive he remained by parole until exchanged. Both died, after the peace, from the effects of wounds received on the fields of battle."

P. 93–94: "Receiving the Blessing.—At the outbreak of the civil war each section furnished as many Jews, according to ratio of population, as did any other class, of course. As was quite natural, they sided with the section that was their birthplace and their home. They volunteered as cheerfully and served as patriotically as any other citizen, and were always to be found at the front. Many of them—alas! too many—gave up their lives in the struggle. Memphis, Tennessee, was not behind in her quota; nearly all her young men volunteered and went. There was no chance for substitutes in that section. We write *section* understandingly, for the imaginary lines of Messrs. Mason and Dixon had not then been obliterated.

"A novel and affecting incident occurred at the Temple *Children of Israel* during the Sabbath service. The following named enlisted volunteers, all uniformed in Confederate gray, marched into the building. Standing around the scrolls of the law, they recited the blessing, in chorus: Major Abraham S. Levy, Captain Maurice A. Freeman, Lieutenant Isaac Strauss, Corporal M. A. Kuhn, Privates Lou Leubrie, Samuel Jackson, Harry Cohen, Julius Nathan, Emil Gross, Harry Jeessel, and several others. After which they received the ancient priestly benediction from the minister [Rev. Dr. Max Samfield?] and returned to the camps

of their several commands. It was their last assemblage together, and was a sad realistic scene that will never be forgotten by those that witnessed same."

GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT.

ARKANSAS.

"As far back as 1830, the three brothers, Dr. Jacob Mitchell, Hyman and Levy Mitchell, moved to Little Rock, Arkansas, and established a commercial house there. Doing a large business with Fort Smith and the Indian Territory, they were very successful merchants. Dr. Jacob inaugurated a stage line to Hot Springs, and became an interested owner of part of the hot mountain. His title was an old Spanish patent that was issued to the sufferers by the earthquake on Madrid Bend in 1832. The matter became involved in litigation for many years. The United States Government declined to ratify and held it as its own reservation, which was finally so decided by the Supreme Court of the United States. The Mitchell heirs were very much disappointed in losing this immense fortune, but 'tis hard to contest anything with the United States Government. The Kempners, Jonas Levy and others followed, and a congregation was formed about 1845 . . . Jacob Mitchell, in 1839, organized a stage route from Little Rock to Hot Springs and built a large hotel. Scarcely any other Jews lived there permanently, although quite a number visited there, the waters having a reputation for marvellous cures performed."

[Cf. Frankland, *ib., l. c.*, p. 95–96.]

GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT.

AMERICANA AT THE ANGLO-JEWISH EXHIBITION.

[*Publications*, I, 109–10.]

From the *Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*, 1887 (London, 1887), we extract the following items, in

addition to those already referred to by Dr. Cyrus Adler, refraining from comments, except where it is necessary to show the relation of the subject to American-Jewish interests:

P. 32, No. 784: Sermon. Original MS. of a sermon preached in Spanish by a member of the De Sola family, in the year 5521 = 1761. [Supposed to be by Abraham de Isaac de Sola.] (Clarence de Sola, Exhib.)

[This cannot be correct, for there was no member of the de Sola family officiating as Rabbi either in Holland or in England at that time. It must have been written therefore by Samuel Mendes de Solla, who for several decades was Rabbi in Curaçoa. Some of his homiletic writings are mentioned by the present writer in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, pp. 117–118 and 142; No. 5, p. 119. About him and his controversies with his contemporaries and his congregation (cf. *l. c.*) a lengthy paper could be written.]

P. 41, No. 859: "Orden de la Oracion, &c., &c." Order of service held in Bevis Marks Synagogue on 13 Dec. 1776 (3 Tebet 5537 = 1776), upon the day appointed as a day of humiliation and prayer for the success of the Royal arms, and restoration of peace, at the time of the revolt of the American Colonies; including the sermon of Rabbi Moseh Cohen d'Azevedo. Hebr. and Span. (C. de Sola, Exhib.)

P. 50, No. 970: Dr. Benjamin De Sola (photo of a painting), Court physician to William V, Prince of Orange, and an ancestor of the De Sola family. Born in Portugal, 1735. Settled in Holland, 1749. Author of several medical works. Died at Curaçoa, 1815. (Miss de Sola, Exhib.).

Ibid., No. 972: Rev. Isaac Lopez (I. M. Belisario del.), Cantor at Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Kingston, Jamaica. (The Misses Aguilar, Exhib.) [Is he identical with Isaac Lopez da Fonseca, Hazan in Curaçoa, 1780? Cf. *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, pp. 118, 142, 143.]

P. 51, No. 981: Mr. Leoni As [Leonias?] Arbaces. (Engraving.) Opera singer and composer. Real name

Myer Leon. Was at first a chorister at the Great Synagogue, *circa* 1770. Obtained much success on the operatic stage and as a composer of songs and sacred melodies. Braham was one of his pupils. Returned to the Synagogue and became a Jewish minister at Kingston, Jamaica. (I. Solomons, Exhib.).

P. 179, No. 41: Pass for Abraham de Mercado, M. D., Hebrew, and David Raphael de Mercado, his son, to Barbadoes, to exercise his profession, 20 April, 1655. (Council of State Order Book, vol. LXXVI, p. 49.)

[Cf. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic series during the Commonwealth,* edited by M. A. E. Green, vol. VIII (1655), p. 583; Jacobs-Wolf: *Bibl. Anglo-Judaica* (London, 1887), p. 39; Rev. Dr. H. Adler in *Transactions of the Jew. Hist. Soc. of Engl.*, vol. I (1893–4), London, 1895, p. 44, No. XI; Kohler in *Publ. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, IV, p. 223.—Adler, Kohler have the date: Apr. 27, 1655.]

GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT.

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CONSTITUTION.

Name.

I. The name of this Society shall be the "American Jewish Historical Society."

Objects.

II. Its objects shall be the collection, preservation and publication of material having reference to the settlement and history of the Jews on the American Continent.

Members.

III. Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars.

On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life member exempt from fees.

Persons may be elected as honorary members and be exempt from the payment of fees; but no honorary member shall be elected except by the unanimous vote of the Executive Council.

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